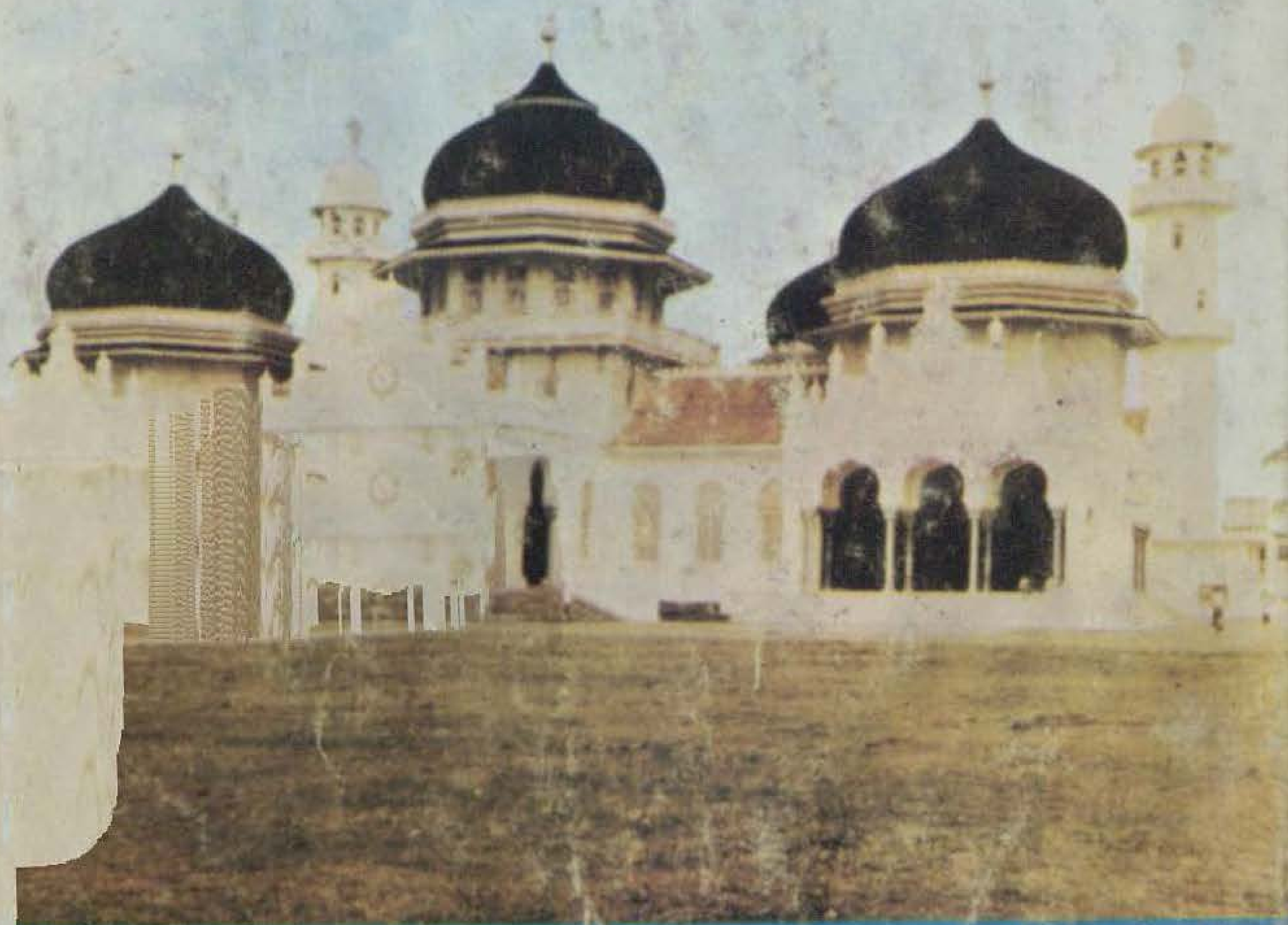
ADVENT OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA



N. A. BALOCH

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PREFACE

The early advent and spread of Islam in Indonesia represents both the internationalism of Islam and the internationalism of the Malaysian-Indonesian Society. It is a unique historical fact of spiritual advancement and religious transformation of a homogeneous society which was as much due to external inspiration as it was due to internal motivation and assimilation.

The first to bring Islam to the Indonesian shores, and further north to China, were the early Arab Muslims, but they were soon followed by Muslims from the mariteme provinces of Iran, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. The chronology of the early visits of the pioneers from abroad, or of the first settlements of the indigenous Muslim communities in the different parts, is not altogether clear; but all the record, both Indonesian and international, has not yet been fully uncovered or studied to reconstruct the early history of the Indonesian Islamic community and society. Evidence presented from the domain of the mystic Sindhi poetry of Pakistan (pp. 8-15) and Fuzuni's book *Buhairah* (pp. 58-67) underlines the importance of exploring the ex-Indonesian sources. The indigenous epigraphical record is a rich source of information but it has not yet been fully documented or meaningfully interpreted. It is, indeed, a stupendous task for the patriotic Indonesian scholar to clear up the mist of the colonial history and complete their rediscovery of Indonesia in which they are presently engaged.

I acknowledge with thanks the help and the hospitality extended to me, during my visits, by Indonesian scholars and institutions in Suhrabaya, Yogyakarta, Banjermasen, Ujang Pandang, Medan, Bandah Acheh and elsewhere. The Department of Archaeology, Jakarta, and its branch in Bandah Acheh, facilitated my visits to the historical sites. I am specially grateful to Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali of the IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta; Prof. H. Ali Hashmy, Rector of IAIN Al-Ranery, Darussalam, Bandah Acheh; and Prof. Dr. Mohammad Koesnoe, Chairman, Middle-East Studies Centre, IAIN Sunan Ampel, Suhrabaya, for their friendly guidance which proved to be fruitful for me in a number of ways.

Islamabad, N. A. Baloch
10-8-1979

CONTENTS

I

THE ADVENT

The question often raised is: 'whether Islam came to Indonesia from Arabia, the subcontinent of India, or China'? Firstly, it is not a question of '*or*' but of '*and*' : Muslims from these *and* other countries, but more so from the different parts of the archipelago itself, contributed to the growth and development of Islam in what is now known as Indonesia. However, the *first* to bring Islam to the Indonesian shores, and further north to China were the early Arab Muslims. On the basis of available historical record, it would be reasonable to conclude that their intransit visits and temporary halts, first most probably on the coastlines of Sumatra, took place in the 1st century of Hijra (7th A.D.), while the more frequent and longer visits as well as permanent settlements came during the 2nd H./ 8th century A.D.

These early visits and settlements which became more numerous with the passage of time, were the result of the expertise of Muslim navigators and sailors as well as the dynamism of Muslim merchants and traders who not only followed the ancient sea-trade route from the Middle East to China, but charted

the coastlines more accurately and made voyages safer than before, so that within the first two centuries of Hijra this old sea route developed into an Ocean Highway for international trade and commerce.

Historically, the process of Islam becoming the faith of most of the peoples of Malaysian/Indonesian regions, went through two main stages. The first stage consisted of the early contacts and initial introduction and acceptance of Islam mainly in the port towns and coastal belts. This was achieved during the long period of five centuries beginning from the 1st A.H./7th A.D. century and extending to the 5th H./12th A.D. century. The second stage of more extensive propagation and universal acceptance of Islam, not only in the coastal belts but also into the interior, commenced from the 6th H./13th A.D. century.

So far, the main attention of historians and other writers has remained centred on external factors, that is the Muslim pioneers and preachers coming from abroad. The role played by the early native faithfuls and the small indigenous Islamic communities has not yet been fully studied. Secondly, it is also to be realized that in this process of Islam coming to Indonesia the learned, the pious, the Sufi saints and the devoted preachers appeared essentially at the second stage. At the initial stage, it was the simple, straightforward and exemplary behaviour of the first arriving Muslims whose firm faith, sincerity of purpose, honesty in business dealings, sense of justice and equality in human relations, sympathy for the poor and charity

in the name of Allah, and their community conduct both inside the Mosque and outside in the market had a direct impact on the local population. Those who came in contact with them were so much impressed and inspired by their clean living and honest dealings that they were motivated to embrace the faith of Islam which guaranteed justice and equality and a worthwhile role in the Islamic community. This was in direct contrast with their previous experience of the formal priest-directed religious rites, or the superstitious-ridden rituals of paganism.

The Geographical Viewpoint

The statement that Islam came to Indonesia from Arabia, the subcontinent of India and China, is correct only to the extent that it is accepted as a broad generalization. However, it is too broad a generalization to be comprehended easily. So far as China is concerned, the first Muslims who came from there to the Indonesian coastal belts were mainly of the Arab stock; they had settled down earlier in the Chinese port towns but were later displaced from there in the wake of some fateful events (such as Haung Chao's rebellion in 878 A.D.) and migrated to the Indonesian port towns. So far as the ethnic Chinese Muslims were concerned, they came much later as part of embassies and trade missions, or with some Muslim Chinese dignitaries and navigators (such as the great Admiral Cheng Ho who visited Indonesian shores in 1413); however, it is doubtful if they settled down here in any large numbers. Beside China, the early Muslims (the Arab Muslims first, and then both the

Arab and Persian Muslims) also settled in some other maritime countries beyond the straits of Malacca, such as *Sanf* (Champa/Annam) and *Sila* (Korea). They also found safe refuge in the Malaysian-Indonesian lands in times of crises.

From the side of Arabia, early Islam came all along the sea route followed by the Muslim navigators and merchants. However, those early Muslims came to Indonesia from Arabia and also from other coastal regions—Hadarmot—Oman, Iraq, Iran, the present Pakistani provinces of Baluchistan and Sind, the Indian coastal regions (mainly Cambay, Gujrat, Konkan, Malabar and Coromandal), Ceylon and the coast belt of Bengal (both of India and Bangladesh). The periods of their advent, however, differed. The Arab Muslims were the pioneers during approximately the first two centuries of the Hijra (7th/8th A.D.). Thereafter, both the Arab and the Persian Muslim sailors, merchants, researchers and religious scholars led the way during the next four or five centuries (2nd-5th H./8th-12th A.D.). Lastly, in addition, came the Muslim sailors, merchants, religious scholars and Sufi saints from the South-Asian Subcontinent (Pakistan-India-Bangladesh) mainly during the period extending from 6th to 11th H. (13th to 18th A.D.) century.

An exclusive emphasis is usually placed, in some circles, on the role of Muslims from Arab lands, or from two or three regions of the Subcontinent (such as Gujrat, the Coromandal and the Tamil speaking parts of South India, and Bengal) in the

growth of Islam in Indonesia. On the other hand, the role played by the Muslims from Persia (Iran), or the coming of Muslims from the maritime provinces of Sind and Baluchistan in Pakistan has not yet been fully recognized. This does not imply their distinctive role in terms of ethnology but a distinction from the point of geography; for, irrespective of being Arabs, Persians, Sindhians, or Indians, they were essentially *Muslims* in their pioneering efforts of bringing Islam to Indonesia. Moreover, there were many among the early Muslim navigators and traders who hailed from Persia but they were actually of Arab origin.

The Persian Muslims

Beginning from the 2nd H./8th century, the Persian Muslims along with the Arab Muslims played a significant role in trade and travel along the Middle East—China Ocean Highway. Early in the 9th century, the Persian port of Siraf developed into an important entripot for maritime trade and commerce with Sind, Hind, Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia and the destinations beyond, up to China. The two famous merchants/sailors, Sulayman al-Tajir (237 H./851 A.D.) and Abu Zaid (303 H./916 A.D.) who have left more detailed accounts of their early voyages and visits (**27** & **1**) to the Far East, both belonged to Siraf. Sulayman says that ships for China used to take their cargo at Siraf. The ships of the Persian Muslim merchants had reached China as early as 671 A.D. when the Chinese I. Ching, according to his own statement, travelled in a ship which

belonged to *'Po-Sse'* (Persian). Also the contemporary Chinese priest from Yang Chao had noted the existence of a large settlement of *'Po-Sse'* (Persian Muslims) in the island of Hainan in 748 A.D. . Accord ing to the records of the Sung Dynasty, the emissaries of the king of Java who arrived at the royal Chinese Court in the year 992 A.D. were dressed like Persians. The Chinese sources amply confirm that both the Arab and the Persian Muslims played an important role in carrying on trade between the south seas and China in the 10th century A.D. . According to Muhallibi, Kalah on the west coast of the Malaysian Peninsula was inhabited by Muslims from Persia and India by the end of the tenth century (**9**). A Muslim town in Siam founded later (the recorded reports about which date from mid-14th to mid-18th century) was called by its Persian name *'Shahr-i-Nao'* (after a town of the same name in Iran). This was the same *Shahr Nawi* of Hamza Fansuri who died before 1607 A.D. (**5**):

Hamzah nin asalnya Fansuri
Mendapat wajud ditonah Shahrnawi
(Hamza is originally of Fansur
He acquired his existence in the land
of Shahr Nawi).

'Fansur' of Hamza is the same town/locality of Barus on the West coast of Sumatra, which was so named by the early Muslims (Arab/Persian) who had their first settlements in Barus (Bharoach) on the coastline of Gujrat in India. (From 7th century A.D. onwards, Barus had been, for Muslims, the next important port on the Indian coastline after the port of

Debal in Sind.) Tombstones from the Barus-Fansur area, carrying both Arabic and Persian inscriptions, confirm that the Arab/Persian Muslims were settled there in the long past. Was it against this background of Fansur-Barus that Hamza had said (5):

Bukanya 'Ajimi lagi 'Arabi-
Senantiasa wasil dengan Yang Baqi

(He is not a Persian, nor is he an Arab
But he is constantly united with the
Everlasting One)

Beside Barus on the West Coast of Sumatra, tombstones with Persian inscriptions from the Samudera-Pasai area on the East Coast also confirm that Persian Muslims had settled there long ago. Besides, a number of personal and place names, originally Persian, are current in the Indonesian Muslim society to this day. All available evidence shows that the preponderance of the Persian Muslims was not less than that of the Arab Muslims in their role as carriers of commerce and Islamic culture to the countries situated on the sea-trade route to China. The study of styles of scripts used by them, has even led one modern scholar to conclude (though erroneously) that "The Malay Archipelago like India first received Islam from the Persians whose place was later taken by southern Arabs. . ." (19).

The more convincing evidence comes from the continuous use in the Indonesian society, since early times, of some key Persian words representing important navigational, commercial-cum-administrative,

and cultural concepts. Thus :

(*a*) *Nakhuda* (*Per.* Captain) and *Mu'allim* (*Ar. Navigator*), professional terms for the two key figures in early Muslim navigation continue to be used to this day.

(*b*) So also *Bandar* (port) and *Shahbandar** (Master of the port), the former representing the development of maritime facilities, and the latter the most important institution invested with administrative, political and diplomatic functions in the context of international commerce, international law and international diplomacy.

(*c*) *Pahalwan*, which ordinarily meant a man of great physical strength and power, was used in its more significant meaning of a 'hero' in the Indonesian society. It is being used in that sense to this day.

The continuous use of these words representing key concepts testifies as much to the international character of the early Muslim sailors and merchants and their impact in the archipelago, as it reflects the international dimensions of Indonesia's historical past.

Muslims from the maritime provinces of Pakistan

Sind came within the fold of Islam as early as 712 A.D. Being a maritime country with its historical port of Debal becoming the first important Muslim town and an important trade emporium, the Sindhian sailor and

*Persian : *Shah-i-bandar*.

merchant followed the ocean highway to Malaysia, Indonesia and China. Though no direct evidence to this effect has come to light so far, there is ample indirect recorded evidence which can be regarded as conclusive. Strangely enough, it comes from the domain of Sufi poetry of 16th-18th century. This poetry composed in Sindhi language has, among others, one specific theme called 'Samudri' the context of which is the sea trade, the main destinations of which were the ports of Indonesia. 'Samudri' as a poetic theme comes under allusion first in the verses of the early 16th century Sufi poet Qadi Qādan who died in 959 H. (1551):

Where the big strong boats get confounded
May the small ones reach safe by Thy grace!

Thereafter it finds reference in the verses of Shah Lutfullah Qadiri (17th century), but is more extensively developed by Shah Inat (d. 1132H./1720) and Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1165H /1752). Both of them were well-aware of the sea trade between the ports of Sind and those of Indonesia, which had flourished in the past and which possibly continued on (though much diminished) up to their own times. Shah Inat and Shah Latif sung the theme of Samudri so very intensively that it became institutionalized both in classical and folk poetry. The classical tradition was continued by such eminent poets as Abdul Rahim Girhori (1197H./1778 A.D.), Shah Sharif (d. 1264H./1848) and Khalifo Nabibakhsh Leghari (Circa 1280H./1863). At the level of folk poetry, Sāwan (d. 1935) was the last folk poet par excellence, who composed a number of ballads on this theme.

No details of the sea trade are recounted in Samudri, because the objective of the Sufi poet was to express himself allegorically to convey moral and spiritual ideas. The following specific aspects have, however, come under reference.

(*a*) *The country is Java.* Along the sea trade route, the Kachch-Kathiawar-Gujrat coastline, Malabar, Bengal, Java and China are specifically mentioned. The lands of Malaysia-Indonesia are referred to by the general name of Java. Being the centrally located region of prosperous trade, Java and its ports became the main destination for traders from Sind some of whom often stayed on there permanently.

Awa* is their land whence they came here for trade—
A good trade is in store for them!
Java being the sailors' destination. (Shah Inat) **(24)**

(*b*) *BANDAR or 'the Port'.* Beside *bandar* used as **a** common noun for any port, BANDAR in the sense of 'the port' often comes under reference though the name is not mentioned. However, clues in some other verses indicate that either the port of Samudra-Pasai was meant since the very poetic theme was called 'Samudri'** or, most probably, it was the port of 'Purlak' which has been mentioned by name.

Those who trade with the Port (far away)
(May they return so that) I meet them some day

———

*A literal pun on *awa* which is derived from the verb *avan* (Seraiki) *achan* (Sindhi), or *ana* (Urdu), meaning 'to come'.

**Meaning, the Samudra-going sea traders, or the sea farers.

How can I forget those who have gone to the Port!

They stayed not so long at the Port
as they have done this time! (Khalifo) **(26, iii)**

The traders have stayed back in the Port for so many days!
'I wonder, says Sharif, 'if *Samudris* will ever come back again'!
The brilliant Samudris returned,
after having been to the Port. (Sharif) **(26, ii)**

They encamped at the Port
attaching themselves intensively to it.
(Sawan) **(26, iv)**

(*c*) *The Port of 'Purlak'*. The port of 'Purlak' is mentioned by Shah Inat (1035-1132H.) in his following verses which also indicate that the traders from Sind used to sail to some ports beyond Purlak.

(The jubilant women folk have made all preparation)
Ointed their hair with fragrance, cleaned their homes,
and performed the prayer rites
(To welcome and receive)
Their husbands who had sailed beyond Purlak;
Of their home coming, says Inat,
they (women folk) have heard the news at the anchorage;
The 'wealthy-at-sea' have returned
maintaining their reputation for honesty. **(24)**

'Pur-lak' is the pronunciation of the traders of 17th/18th century A.D.. The indigenous (North Sumatran) pronunciation in its present form is 'Peureulak' (Peureu-lak) which the traders from Sind took to be

'Pur-lak', but found it more convenient to call it 'Lak-pur' or 'Lakā-pur'*, or in a still shortened form as 'Lakā'*. The port and the country of Purlak or Laka-pur was then ruled by 'the SHAH', and was famous for its gold trade. The following verses of the different poets refer to Perlak.

They talk of Lakā and Lakā again
they have set their sails for Lakā's sake
Having heard of Laka's gold
Samudris have remained restless;
The ocean-going traders raised anchors in early morn
Per chance one may meet again
those who have sailed away to high seas.

———

Adept of the salty oceans,
they have returned to the sweet shores;
The persevering Samudris have arrived
after making huge profits in Laka.
(Latif) **(25)**

———

They raised the sails, keeping China in their view,
To Laka (first) they sailed, hearing of its good
name and fame
(Anxious of their return) I keep watching
the routes by which the traders return.
(Khalifo) **(26, iii)**

———

*The Sufi poet preferred to pronounce it as 'Laqa-pur', allegorically 'the place of spiritual vision'. The shortened pronunciation 'Lakā' in some verses, tempts one to link it with Lankā (Ceylon), but the latter was known in Sind as Sarandeb. Other points in the description, however, confirm that 'Purlak' in Sumatra was meant.

They set the sails relying on the *utar* (northern)
wind, and sailed with hopes high
They went further awa, after their huge profits
in Lakapur.

———

After having struck rich at Laka,
the joyful Samudris have returned home.
(Sharif) **(26, ii)**

(*d*) *Shah was the ruler.* The ruler of Purlak or Lakapur was known as SHAH:

Leave this mortal home and proceed to Lakāpur
Where glamour of the Shah has submerged the sun
and the moon;
The beloved resides back in Lakāpur—these are
but his reflections!
Only those have had a vision of him, who have
been to that land.
(Girhori) **(26, i)**

(*e*) *Boats with Sultan's flags or colours.* It would seem that either by way of partnership or by special grants and contracts, some of the foreign merchants (from Sind and elsewhere) used to carry on the trade by flying the Sultan's flags or colours on their boats. Also these might have been the Sultan's own boats given on contract to the traders.

Those whose *jehaz* (ship) has the Sultan's ribbon*
Have earned profits in Qand-Qalat, Basra and
Arabia
They have established themselves in Java,
and the Port which is renowned,

*Originally '*sago Sultani*', i.e. 'thread of the Sultan'.

Having earned awards everywhere, the leaders
have safely returned home. (Shah Inat) **(24)**

(*f*) *The Shahbandar. Bandarshah,* that is *Shahbandar*, is specifically mentioned as having the power to exempt the merchandise carried by the incoming ships of the Ruler ('the Master'), or those licensed by the Ruler, from paying the toll tax :

Those who tied the Master's ribbon to their ship
Their journey, says Inat, became an auspicious one,
Bandarshah exempted them from duty instantly ;
The anxious wives who had sleepless night,
their husbands have now returned safe.
(Shah Inat) **(24)**

The theme of Samudri was firmly entrenched not only in classical poetry but also in folk poetry, and the folk poets continued to use it in their ballads right up to the present times, as confirmed by the following verses from a ballad of Sawan (d. 1935), the most renowned folk poet of the later period. It is to be presumed that the description embellished by the folk poet in his ballad had survived in folk lore and oral tradition, though the sea trade between Sind and the Indonesian lands was disrupted long long ago.

Samundris are getting ready, visiting Java
frequently and in numbers
Their big boats anchored in the Bet (isle), near the
ghūrāb* godowns.
Dear Traders have departed, severing all
connections from here ;

*Big boats.

Alas! I became attached to those who are
used to perils!
No *maqams* (graveyard) are known of the birds and
the foreigners!
I told my sorrows, says Sawan, to the beloved ones
who were departing in early morn,
But they simply said: 'this is our last home return.'
The energetic ones who have gone to Java
may they return safely!
But those who have taken their abode in Java
would never return.

(Sawan) **(26, iv)**

Also the possibility of the Muslim sailors and merchants from the maritime province of Baluchistan frequenting the shores of Malaysia and Indonesia cannot be ruled out. Reference may be made to the close similarity between the 'topical construction' of the classical Balochi ballads of the 15th/16th century and the traditional Melayu ballads.

TRADITIONAL HEADINGS OF BALOCHI BALLADS

—Chakar-i- or Sha'er—
The ballad of Chakar,
—Bivaragh Sha'er Bivaragh's ballad about the above war.)
—Miran Sha'er: —do—
—Nodhbandag Sha'er: —do—
—Rehan Sha'er: —do—
—Shahzad Sha'er: —do—
—Nawab Jamal Khan Wafāt Sha'er (about the death of Nawab of Jamal Khan.)
—Phirai Warnai Sha'er about Youth and Age.)

—Sha'er Singapura Terbaker or Sha'er Singapura di-makan Apd composed by Abdul Malik in February 1830 on Singapure Fire.)

—Sha'er Bah Singapura (about the flood of Singapure.)

—Sha'er Raja Haji, about Raja Haji Buginese Prince who attacked the Dutch in Malacca Fort and was killed.)

—Sha'er Perang Siak (about Bengkalis in Siak and the war with Johore.)

—Sha'er Moko-Moko (a family chronicle of Moko-Moko in W. Sumadra.)

—Sha'er Pangeran Sharif Hashim (on the Bangermasin war of 1861-63).

—Sha'er Himup (Imhoff) which describes the 17th century Jakarta and the Dutch-Chinese trouble.)

—Sha'er Perang Mengkasar (by Entiji Amin, the Malay Secretary of the Sultan of Goa regarding the Dutch attack by Speelman.)

The word *Sha'er* is exactly the same in both the cases. A competent scholar has observed that *Sha'er* is the Malayanised form of Arabic *Shi'r* (5). So also is *Sha'er* (with *hamza* and not with '*ain*) the Balochi form of Arabic *Shi'r*. The headings remain the same whether the ballad is ascribed to the poet who composed it, the theme to which it pertains, or the event to which it relates. Is it merely a strange coincidence between the language areas which are separated by thousands of miles, albeit linked by the

ocean highway? It may be that the *nakhudas* and traders from Baluchistan who had permanently settled down in Malaysia/Indonesia and also spoke Melayu, composed their first Melayu ballads in the image of their own traditional verse; or, else, they introduced the Melayu form in Balochi when they returned home! There is evidence to the effect that some of the scholarly *nakhudas* from Mekran (Baluchistan) had settled down in Sumatra at an early stage. To one of the settled families belonged the scholar historian Abu Ishaq al-Mekrani al-Fasi (*i.e.* whose family originally came from Mekran or Baluchistan but had settled down in Pasai in Sumatra) who wrote an important work on the dynastic history of the rulers of Perlak. This book entitled *Kitab Izhar al-Haqq fi Silsilat Raja Ferlak,* which was discovered more recently, shows that the first Muslim State in Perlak was founded as early as 225 H. (847 A.D.).

The Chronological Viewpoint

Chronologically speaking, in the process of Muslims coming to Indonesia from the maritime countries situated along the Middle East-China Ocean Highway, the year 15th of Hijra (637 A.D.) is of special importance. It was in this year that the Muslim victory in the battle of Qadisiyyah against the last Sassanid Emperor paved the way for spread of Islam to the East in the vast Sassanid Empire of Iran. It was also in the 15th year of the Hijra that naval victories were achieved by Muslims against the Sassanid navy in the Indian Ocean, particularly in the ports of Debal (Sind), Barus (Bharoach in Gujrat)

and Thana (south of the present city of Bombay). This naval expedition was despatched by Uthman b. Abi al-Ās al-Thaqafi, the Governor of Oman. The next important year in the eastward advance of Muslims was 92/93 H. (711/712 A.D.), when Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi conquered Sind, and the famous port of Debal came within the domain of Muslim rule (**6**). Thus, for the first time, Muslims had an important foothold for their onward voyage along the Indian coastline. This led to other permanent Muslim settlements further south in the ports of Bharoach (Barus), Cambay, Thana, Kaulam Maley etc., and also in Ceylon.

From 13th century onward, Muslim rule extended to other coastal regions of the subcontinent. Bengal came under Muslim political influence as early as 1203 A.D., while Gujrat was conquered in 1396. Thus, Muslim power was consolidated along the Indian coastline, both in the ports of entry (Sind and Gujrat) as well as departure (Bengal) for Malaysia-Indonesia, and further to China. In the 14th century, Sind, Gujrat and Bengal became independent Sultanates. Thereafter, the Sultans of Sind (1350-1520), Sultans of Gujrat (1396-1576) and the Sultans of Bengal (1336-1576) encouraged maritime trade for their economic prosperity and gave full support to the trading Muslim communities settled in port towns. This contributed to their closer communications—economic, social and religious—with Indonesia/Malaysia from 14th to 16th century. Also, it was mainly during this period that the Indian Muslim merchants,

scholars and Sufi saints found their way to Malaysia/Indonesia. This process weakened with the fall of these Sultanates in the 16th century and the aggressive Portuguese intervention in the sea-trade. From 17th century onwards, the initiative for propagating Islam in Indonesia passed on into the hands of the Muslim communities of the archipelago itself.

During the early period, it was the Muslim merchant and sailor who had been the embodiment of Islam wherever they went. Propagation of Islam during the later period was achieved mainly through the devotion of Sufi saints and the Ulema. In particular, the period from 12th to 14th century marked the advent of great Sufis in the world of Islam. In Hindostan also, Sufi orders became well-established during this period. The Sultanate of Bengal, which was nearer to Malaysia/Indonesia, was also saturated with Sufi influence during 13th-14th centuries. During this period, Sufi saints reached Indonesia both from the Middle East and Iran as well as from the Hindostan Subcontinent. It was they and their Muslim Indonesian compatriots who propagated Islam at this stage. However, by way of generalization, it may be said that from 17th century onwards, propagation and consolidation of Islam in Indonesia passed on mainly into the hands of the faithfuls residing within the archipelago itself. It was the Indonesian *Ulema* and *Imams*, Saints and *Sunans* who finally laid the foundations of faith among their people in the interior, and everywhere.

I

PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD.

Source materials on the history of the early Muslim period lie widely scattered. Because of the international character of this period, information on it was recorded by different peoples. Firstly, this information has to be located in different sources in different countries, and then correctly understood and interpreted. The early Muslim record both inside and outside of Indonesia, the contemporary Chinese record, and the later reports of visitors from outside, all require a careful study and evaluation. Beside written literature and folklore, epigraphic and numismatic record has to be studied thoroughly. The task for the students of Indonesian history, both the national scholar and his contemporaries elsewhere is, indeed, formidable.

The main problems, however, arise from the fact that in the countries under colonial domination, foreign writings have taken precedence over those of the peoples themselves and, consequently, a distorted perspective has been set for the native history, both deliberately and inadvertently. These writings

however valuable, have to be reviewed critically instead of taking their authenticity for granted. Apart from their overall colonial colour, some of these writings contain both factual inaccuracies as well as fanciful interpretations. The colonial writer, almost everywhere, has disparaged the people's own writers and their record as being 'local' or 'native', and hence 'not reliable'. The 'native' historian invariably stands discredited. To begin with, the 'native' historian and the 'local' record have to be cleared of this stigma by the native scholars themselves. A continued disparagement of the subject nations' own written sources set a mode of thinking which was hardly conducive to the writing of a truly *national* history. An eminent Indonesian scholar (Soedjotmoko) has well-reminded the contemporary historian that he is writing for his people in his time, and that he has an obligation to meet the "insistent demands for a nationalistic historiography" **(3 : vi)**.

The colonial/foreign/missionary writers, with the exception of a few enlightened ones, have more than often assumed an anti-Islam role with far-reaching consequences. Their accusations—such as waging holy wars, spreading Islam by force, destroying books etc.—are too well-known to be recounted here. The Indonesian Muslim society also has not been spared of such accusations. Thus, Berg while discussing the historicity of the Javanese manuscripts would think it appropriate enough to point out that: "We find, as a matter of fact, remarkable gaps in the chronological

distribution pattern of Javanese charters as well as destruction of ancient books after the rise of Islam" **(3 : i)**. Others would talk of "Islamic Wars" and "Holy Wars" waged in Indonesia to spread Islam **(3: v)**. Then, as everywhere else so also in Indonesia, the colonial writer has centered his special attention on the writings of the pre-Muslim period and given them greater weightage as 'historical' writings as compared to the writings of the Muslim period. Such an imbalanced attitude is mainly responsible for regarding a folk tale like Pararaton as a 'historical' source, or exaggerating the 'historical' value of the Nagarakertagama composition (1365) of Prapanca. In contrast, all sorts of doubts are cast on the Babad literature produced by the Javanese writers of the Muslim period.

Thus, Babad Tanah Javi has been subjected to the foreign scholars' judgment, and such a cobweb pattern of looking at it has been set that once one entangles himself into it, it becomes difficult to wriggle out. On the one hand, Babad Tanah Javi is regarded as a "socialized myth" out of which an attempt is made 'to create' a history of the pre-Muslim past; on the other, it is regarded as an utterly unreliable source of history. Babad Tanah Javi, in all its existing recensions, editions, or revisions, was a product of the Muslim period, and yet it was read and minutely analysed by the foreign scholar to discover the history of the Great Majapahit in it. When that was not found, the whole work was pronounced to be a dubious one. Thus, an unjust shadow of doubt was cast on its valuable historical content of

the later Muslim period. According to the colonial writers, there is no history in Babad Tanah Javi and it is not to be relied upon particularly by the Western scholars. One of them has consistently maintained that this *native* Javanese source is more an instrument of 'literary form' than of historical information; and that in his continued study of it, he was able to find only a few fragments which could be employed by Western observers as source of information. "Generally speaking, the usefulness of Javanese manuscripts to Western historians is inversely proportional to their value for the Javanese peopl e" **(3 : i & iii)**. Naturally, this should be so. The colonial scholar who created colonial history to reassure himself and discredit those whom he governed, must see the very opposite of what the 'subject' people see and write about their own history. The modern national scholar has yet to say with confidence that 'generally speaking, the usefulness of colonial record and writings to the national historian for national history is inversely proportional to their value to the colonial writers and their people'. This aspect of the so-called 'historical' writings of the colonial period, underlines the need for a fresh liberated outlook on the historical sources and the historical past of an independent nation. More specifically, this calls for a scholarly and sympathetic study of the source materials, both external and internal, which have a direct bearing on the history of the Muslim period.

A. EXTERNAL SOURCES

So far as the early advent of Muslims and estab-

lishment of their first settlements on the Indonesian shores is concerned, the more valid and fruitful conclusions can be reached after a thorough study of the advances in Muslim navigation along the Middle East—China Ocean Highway. The work already done in this regard (Ferrand, Hadi Hasan, Kuwabara, Hourani, Tibbets) has provided a far more clear perspective **(10, 12, 13, 16, 28).** However, the whole record of the early Muslim period remains to be studied with greater insight and understanding **(9)**, within the context of the then contemporary world of Islam in general and in the light of the Chinese records and the Indonesian setting in particular.

The more significant of the Muslim accounts extend from Ibn Khurdadhbih's charting of the maritime trade-cum-postal route to China as early as 232/846 to the eye-witness account of Ibn Battutah's visit to the Islamic state of Samudera in 745-46 H./1345 A.D. . The numerous writings of Muslim historians, geographers, sailors and researchers during this long period of more than five hundred years, contain much that is relevant to Indonesia. Their perusal shows that the Muslim Arabs were the first to travel by the sea-route touching the Indonesian shores and reaching China most probably during the 1st H./7th century, and positively during the 2nd/8th century. Thereafter, both the Arab and the Persian Muslim sailors and merchants had frequented the coastal regions of Malaysia/Indonesia and acquired sufficient first hand knowledge of the archipelago with more detailed information on Sumatra, by the beginning of the 4th/10th century. For

instance, Ibn Khurdadhbih mentions the island of Balus (Barus, Sumatra) and the island of Jabah (Jambi?) as early as 232/846. The Captain Navigator (*Nakhuda*) Buzurg b. Shahryar (955 A.D.) records that he had received a report on the affairs of 'S.r.bizah' (Sriwijaya) which was situated at the end of the island of Lamuri **(8)**, *i.e.* the southern end of Sumatra, as Lamuri (Rumbli/Lumbli) on the Achen Head was meant to be North Sumatra. One would wish that this report on the affairs of S.r.bizah had survived! Alberuni, in his great work *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi* written in 1030 A.D. **(7 : ii)** gives the latitudes of Lamuri and 'S.r.bizah' and places Lamuri on the northern side of the Equator and 'S.r.bizah' on the southern side. These references from the works of Buzurg b. Shahryar and Alberuni would indicate the existence of two distinct territorial States of Lamuri in north Sumatra and 'S.r.bizah' in south Sumatra from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 11th century A.D. In 290/903, Ibn Rustah recorded his information on the most popular past-time of the people, viz. the cockfighting competitions of the archipelago. A little later, Mus'udi (306-310/918-922) gave much more information on such varied subjects as gold of Sumatra, volcanoes, camphor of Fansur (Panchur-Barus), and the one particular island (Bali) known for 'dance and merriment' **(18)**. In his *Kitab al-Saidanah* (443 H./1051) Alberuni quotes al-Zanjani and al-Ummani (navigators/geographers whose works are now lost to us) on Indonesian regions. al-Ummani says that (in his times during 10th/11th century A.D.?) it was from 'S.r.bizah' that one had to sail for China

(7 : v). This would confirm that in 10th/11th century A.D., the main sea route, or at least one such route, to China was along the West coast of Sumatra and the point of departure for China was from the southernmost ports of S.r.bizah. 'Deep waters' on this coast, referred to/by the great Navigator Ibn Mājid in his *Fawa'id* **(28)** in 15th century had facilitated sailing along this coast from early times. Obviously, the sea trade along its coastline at that time must have contributed to the posterity of S.r.bizah.

The early Muslim sources throw considerable light on the archipelago being the centre of international trade and commerce. There are references to geographical, political, economic and socio-cultural conditions. The variety of information obtained in these sources could be of significant historical value if references in them are studied comparatively and critically so that fresh inferences and interpretations lead to new insights and understandings about the early history of Indonesia in general and the history of the early Muslim period in particular.

Also it is significant that Muslim scholars from other countries continued to write about the Malaysian-Indonesian regions right up to the 12th century A.H. (18th A.D.). Their writings and references, however, remain to be located and studied. Two examples may be cited here—one from navigational literature and the other from historical literature—to show that important bits of information still remain to be picked up from the manuscript record of the Muslim period.

The renowned navigator Ibn Mājid and his

eminent pupil Sulaiman al-Mahri had produced a large body of trained navigators who had continued to sail along the ocean highway despite the serious setback they suffered at the hands of the Portuguese. This is confirmed by the manuscript record of the period extending from the 16th to the 18th century which has survived and become known only partly. This scanty record is left mainly by the South Indian Muslim navigators belonging to the Konkani sub-stock of Dākuvas and the Tamil speaking sub-stock of Culias (Chulias). A manuscript of Sulaiman al-Mahri's *Kitab al-Umdah* copied by the Chulia navigator Mu'allim Ali b. Mu'allim Husain al-Culi in 1007 H. (1598) is preserved in the library of the Islamia College, Peshawar, Pakistan. Two manuscripts containing miscellaneous informntion on navigation, including nautical journals, tables, etc., compiled in the 17th and 18th centuries are preserved in the Jami'ah Mosque Library of Bombay, India **(22)**. The one mentions the years 984 H., 1040 H., 1080 H. and 1096 H. (1684) which shows that it was compiled some time by the end of the 17th century. The other belonging to Mu'allim (navigator) 'Inayat b. Mu'allim Shaikh Dākuva which was "completed in the month of Rajab" (year missing) mentions the year 1108 H. (1725/26), showing that it was compiled during the 1st half of the 18th century. Both these works give a list of sea ports, big and small, starting from Hormuz (Iran) and going up to the region 'east of Singapore' and Sumatra. The latter work mentions an important *Rahmani* (*i.e.* *Rahnuma-ī*=Navigational Guide)

which contained the 'Law of Anbosh' (*Qanun-i-Anbosh*) which was being followed "from the days of Ahmad Ibn Mājid Dha al-Fāri and Ustad Mu'allim Sulaiman b. Ahmad al-Mahri" **(22)**.

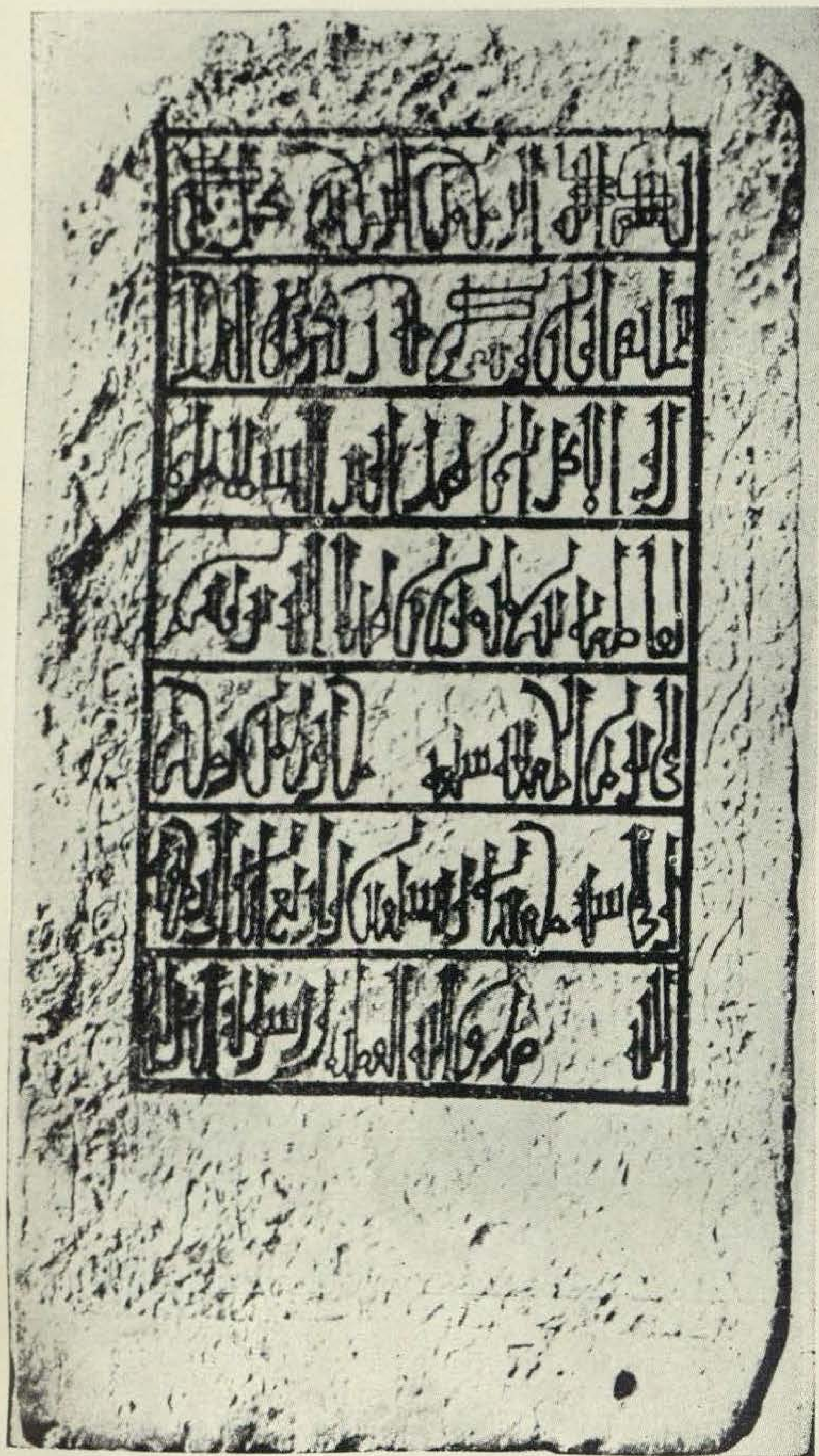
Among the historical chronicles, mention may be made of the book *Buhairah* authored by the Persian poet merchant Hashim Beg Fuzuni, which contains a section on the 'Chronicle of the Island of Achin', as an original source of the 16th century A.D. **(11)***. That Aceh country and part of its history should come under reference in a work wherein it was least expected,** attests as much to the internationalism of Indonesian history as it underlines the need for search of source materials for the Muslim period on international level.

B. INTERNAL SOURCES: EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

The importance of internal Indonesian sources is too obvious to be over-emphasised. The need for a scholarly and sympathetic study of the literary and other records has already been stressed. Such has been the hold of one-sided foreign evaluation of internal sources, that a scholar like Hosein Djadjadiningrat

*For the text and summary, see *Appendix-I*.

**The different manuscripts of some of the known works are to be collated in order to establish the more authentic text. As far back as 1836, Newbold translated extracts from a manuscript of "Adat Achi" (21) which were published in the 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science' (*Appendix-II*, No. 21). Such translations are equally useful for the purpose of collation.



THE LERAN INSCRIPTION
(Princess Fatima)

proceeded to underline the significance of *Local Tradition*, somewhat cautiously and apologetically **(3 : iv)**.

Significant among the internal sources is epigraphical record, but it has yet to be fully investigated and studied for a better understanding of the history of the Muslim period. Inscriptions on tombstones constitute the most authentic source materials, as these represent the contemporary recorded evidence of known facts about the deceased. However, the many tombstones lie widely scattered in different parts of the country and some of the *Makams* are yet to be discovered. Besides, the main problem of deciphering these inscriptions accurately remains to be solved. The readings of some of the inscriptions attempted so far represent, at best, the efforts of able but *individual* scholars. There is an urgent need for engaging a panel of competent scholars and providing them with necessary technical services, so that the inscriptions are read conclusively. Discussion of the following few examples would show how much remains to be done in this regard.

The Leran Inscription (Princess Fatimah)

The tombstone inscription at Leran gives the name of the lady as "Fatimah d/o Maimun s/o Hibatullah". In 1919, Moquette read the year of her death as 7th of Rajab of the Hijra year 495 which is equivalent to 1102 A.D. **(20: i).** In 1925, Ravaisse re-read the year as 475 H. **(23)** which is correct because 'خمسة و سبعين', and not 'خمسة و تسعين', are the words which are actually inscribed. Now, 'Rajab 475 equates with 'December 1082 A.D.' . But, what is

the historical significance of this earliest dated inscription? Not much, according to the foreign scholar: it is just a lonely grave and a lonely inscription. To further minimise its importance, it has been suggested that the tombstone might have been brought from somewhere else and left there. Such a wild conjecture, despite the fact that the Muslim graves are not desecrated in this way! From the national viewpoint, however, it is to be regarded as the most important inscription because, chronologically, it happens to be the earliest one known so far in Indonesia, and one of the early ones in the world of Islam. Further, it confirms early establishment of Islam in the coastal region of Gresik in East Java. The imposing inscription in beautiful Kufic script would indicate that Fatimah was certainly an important personage of her times. The fact that her full genealogy has been recorded (as in case of Queen Mihrasyah in Pasai) shows that in all probability, she was a princess. The Hibatullah Dynasty of Leran, to which she belonged, might have been founded by the turn of the 10th century A.D.

The Gresik Inscription (Malik Ibrahim)

This inscription was first read by Moquette who gave his own verdict that Malik Ibrahim was an outsider who had come from Kashan (Iran) and settled down here because the place was conveniently suited to train proselytizing traders **(20 : ii)**. To this Kern further added that he was a merchant who had made a lot of money and therefore started converting the people. There is nothing in the inscription to justify

such wild speculations; yet, these interpretations are as if taken for granted by Hosein Djadjadiningrat who says **(3 : iv)** :

> Malik Ibrahim died in 822 (1429 A.D.). According to a plausible analysis of the style of the inscription on the tomb by Moquette, Malik Ibrahim must have come from Kasjan, Iran. Also Kern noted that the inscriptions on the tomb indicated "only that Malik Ibrahim was a Persian", and that he was most likely a respectable businessman who had "struck it rich" as is evident from his imposing tomb. Moquette, who reproduced the part of the inscription relating to Kasjan, remarks that the place was eminently suited to train proselytizing traders.

In the first instance, Moquette's reading of the inscription needs further consideration. He has understood the last word in the 5th line of the main text (inscribed in the centre of the stone) to be كاشى or كاشانى (=belonging to Kashan) and concluded that Malik Ibrahim came from Kashan. During my visit to the tomb (1st June 1979) I had an opportunity to examine this part of the inscription in detail and also copied it out for further study. It reads as follows:

يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان وجنات لهم فيها نعيم
مقيم خالدين فيها أبدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم
هذا قبر المرحوم المغفورله الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى
مفخر الامراء عمدة السلاطين والوزراء و محب المساكين والفقراء
السعيد الشهيد برهان الدوله والدين ملك ابراهيم المعروف بكاسے

ماتى متل تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان وا سكنه فى دار الجنان توفى فى
يوم الاثنين الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنة اثني عشرين و ثمانمائه

My comments and conclusions on this inscription are as under:

(*a*) The three words, the last one in the 5th line and the first two in the 6th, are most probably of the local Javi dialect. The connotation of the preceding phrase *al-ma'ruf bi* is that among the people he was widely known by such an appellation. Through their love, regard and admiration for him, the people would call him by this title rather than by his first name. In case these words are of the people's own language, it would mean that he belonged to them. He did not come from outside but was one of them.

(*b*) The words used in the 4th and the 5th line describing his position and status show that he was :

mafchar al-'Umarā'=pride of the courtiers.

'Umdat al-salatin wa al-wuzarā'=pillar of strength for the Sultans and the ministers.

muhibb al-masakin wa al-fuqarā'=lover of destitutes and the poor.

al-sa'id al-shahid=blessed witness to righteousness.

burhān al-dawlah wa al-din=proof for the State and Religion.

Malik Ibrahim=King/Ruler Ibrahim.

These adjectives confirm the personal greatness as well as high status of Ibrahim among the people as well as the ruling circles and the realm. He was a pious prince and the most popular ruler of the State of Gresik. He had been a pillar of strength for Sultans and their ministers. These Sultans were obviously his contemporaries in Sumatra and Malaya, and possibly the Sultans of the Indian maritime provinces particularly those of Gujrat who being grieved at his death had sent the inscribed tombstone as a mark of respect for him. He is not mentioned as 'maulana' in the inscription but, probably, was also known by that attribute during his lifetime, and was continued to be remembered as 'maulana' by the grateful posterity. His recognition as 'maulana' in later writings and oral tradition, shows that he was one of the most accomplished scholars (*'ulama*) of his time. In the Malaysian/Indonesian regions, some of the great men had the distinction of being Sufi saints, scholars and rulers at the same time. Thus, *Malik Maulana Ibrahim Burhan al-Dawlah wa al-din* of Gresik, and also *Sultan Maulana Ahmad Tajuddin* of Kedah.

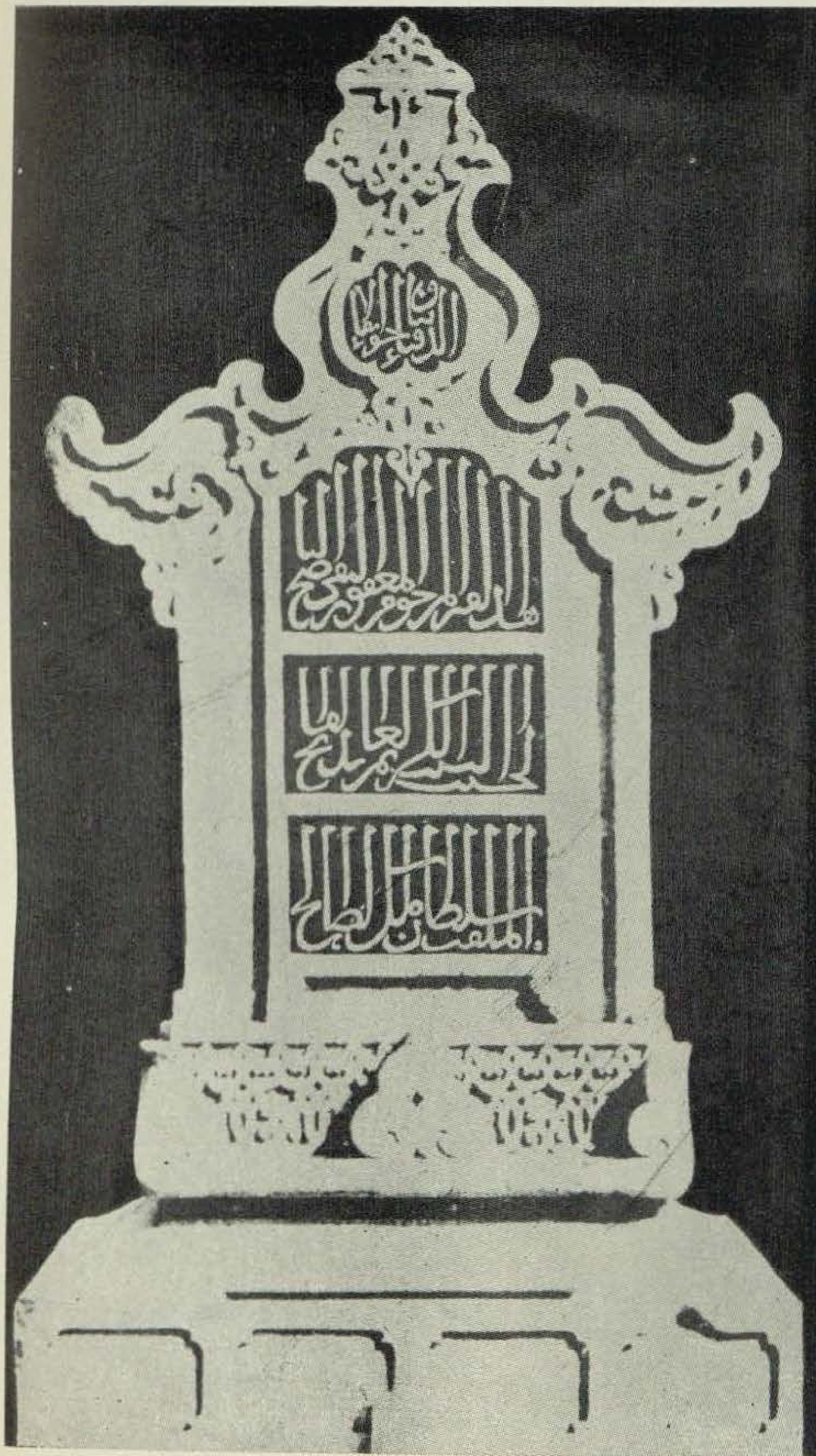
More positive conclusions can be drawn after the three words in the inscription are finally deciphered. Among local conjectures (probably arising out of the past tradition), the one mentioned to me put three words as *Kaki Kaki bantal*, meaning 'an old man with pillow' (though the 1st word is not *Kaki*, the 2nd probably *Pati*=minister or Pati=*Fatih*=conqueror, and the 3rd may be a place name *Pantal*). His popularity among the

people and their veneration for him which is writ large in the inscription shows that Ibrahim had lived a long life and become an institution for his people. The title 'Malik', which has erroneously been taken to be a part of his personal name, clearly shows that he was a ruler; and if he had lived and ruled for a long time, say thirty years, he approximately took over in 790 H. (1383 A.D.). He was probably the first ruler and founder of a new dynasty, as the name of his father (the preceding ruler) is not mentioned. The Muslim State of Leran-Gresik had existed continuously since the days of Princess Fatimah (d. 1082 A.H.), with dynastic changes periodically.

The Samudera Inscription of Sultan Malik Salih.

He was indeed a renowned ruler and, therefore, the resounding echo of his memories in posterity impelled the authors of *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* to ascribe his coming to power to strange and miraculous circumstances. Also he is said to have been the founder of the city of Samudera, an event which would automatically make him the first Muslim king of Samudera. To establish that he came to power miraculously, the tradition would also make him a man of no consequence, just some one Merah Silau by name, who overnight became a king with the title of al-Malik al-Salih.

The inscription on the tombstone which is more factual and historical than the above chronicles, and also precedes them in time, contradicts all such con-



THE SAMUDERA INSCRIPTION
(Sultan Malik Salih)

jectures. To reject what the inscription says would amount to rejecting a clear epigraphical evidence. The inscription on the footside of the tombstone says:

هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور التقي الناصح
الحسيب النسيب الكريم العابد الفاتح
الملقب بسلطان ملک الصالح

> This is the grave of him to whom God may grant mercy and forgiveness—the pious, the counsel (for righteousness), the noble in rank and ancestry, the magnanimous, the devout in worship, the conqueror, entitled Sultan Malik Salih.

Indeed Salih, who became *Malik* (ruler), was not a stranded man from somewhere who all of a sudden hit upon the fortune of founding a kingdom in Samudera. He was a man of high rank and belonged to a noble family. He was magnanimous and a devout Muslim, an *ābid*. It was because of these great qualities that he endeared himself to the people, and with their unflinching loyalty and support he made further conquests, subjugated other chiefs and rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. That is why he is called not only '*Fatih*' (conqueror) but also a '*Sultan*' in the inscription. He was already a *Malik* (ruler), but now that he made conquests and subjugated other rulers he took the title of *Sultan*. That is why he is the first known among the Muslim rulers of Indonesia to be distinctly qualified with both the titles as "*Sultan Malik* Salih."

The headside inscription records that he died in the month of Ramadan of the Hijra year 696, *i.e.* 1297

A.D. . But when did he come to power? One may argue that it was after 1292 A.D., because Marco Polo who visited Samudera in that year and was detained there for five months, does not mention him. But must Marco Polo be regarded as absolutely faultless? He was stranded in Samudera for five months, and because of his hardships during this period, he might have left a distorted image of the ruler and the people. The whole of Samudera-Perlak coastline belt was then mainly Muslim, and so far as Perlak was concerned Marco Polo had confirmed the overwhelming presence of the Muslim Arabs there. However, the people of 'Samara' (Samudera), according to him, were 'wild idolators' who had 'a king born great and rich'. Even from this derogatory remark, it is obvious that *there was a king* in Samudera in 1292, and that he was not an upstart but *born great and rich.* This is in accordance with the inscription which confirms the nobility and generosity of Malik Salih. But were the people of Samudera then 'wild idolators'? This wild accusation of Marco Polo has been forcefully refuted by a modern scholar (Fatimi) in the following words:

> The Chinese sources give definite evidence of Islam's contact with this kingdom (of Samudera) at least ten years before the arrival of Polo. The *History of the Yuan Dynasty* states that in 1282 a Chinese envoy in Quilon met a minister from the kingdom of *Su-mu-ta* (Samudera) and pointed out that it would be a wise move if the ruler of Samudera were also to send an emissary to China. Shortly after, two envoys from Samudera

went to China. From their names, Hasan and Sulayman, they were Muslims. This fact was ignored by the Venetian. This is not strange, rather it is strange that the majority of modern Western historians accept this Chinese evidence and yet appear simultaneously to insist on the infallibility of Marco Polo's observation. **(9)**.

Marco Polo could not be correct because if Malik Salih came to power after 1292 and died in 1297, this short span of less than 5 years was hardly enough for his great achievements which were fondly remembered in later lore and chronicles and were also specifically mentioned in the epitaph. Though Fatimi argues skilfully on the basis of the lore of the past that Malik Salih was of Bengali origin, the following part of his argument would support the idea (which will be more in line with the inscription) that Malik Salih belonged to a noble Muslim family of the local chiefs who were of Arab origin **(9)**:

> Reference has been made above to the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (1280-1367) which describes the meeting of the Chinese envoy in Quilon with the Minister of Samudera, that eventually resulted in the delegation of two Sumatran envoys to China, who happened to be Muslims named Hasan and Sulayman. Now, what is important in the present context is that the name (or the title) of the master of the minister of Samudera as given by the Chinese chronicler is *Ta-kur*, which is from the Sanskrit term *thakur*. . .
> The above-mentioned Chinese envoy visited

Samudera on his way home from Quilon, and saw the ruler himself. Now he describes the said Thakur as *Tuhan* (*Tuan*) *Pati*. Strangely enough, Gerini concludes from this that "Islam had not perhaps as yet obtained a foothold in that territory". Neither of the two words validates Gerini's surmise. On the other hand, according to Groeneveldt: *Tuhan* (*Tuan*) is generally considered to be an Arab appellation, introduced together with Islam and not used by the pagan princes in Java." Gerini has been misled perhaps by the second word, *Pati*. *Patih* or *Pateh* is the old Javanese term for "minister". It is also quite possible that the Chinese ideogram represented not the Javanese but the Arabic word, *Fatih*, the Malay pronunciation of which is *Patih* meaning "victorious". We come across this Arabic word, which rhymes so well with *Salih* (in Malik al-Salih) in the inscription of the famous tombstone of this monarch. It (*Tuhan*) appears to be the translation of the Arabic word (*Shaykh*) which, like the Malay *Tuan*, primarily means "an old man" and has the secondary connotation of being "a venerable person".

Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the *Fatih* (Patih) Malik Salih was ruling in Samudera in 1281/82 A.D.

There is another important argument to be considered. For Sultan Malik Salih, the models of success and sovereignty were the Ayubid and the Mamluk rulers of Syria and Egypt rather than the

Muslim Kings of Bengal. Like the Ayubid al-Malik al-Salih (1240-49), the Mamluk al-Malik al-Zahir (1260-77) and al-Malik al-Mansur Nur al-Din (1257-59), as well as al-Malik al-Mansur Saif al-Din Qalaun (1280-90), the great king of Samudera had assumed the title of al-Malik al-Salih, while his two sons those of al-Malik al-Zahir and al-Malik al-Mansur. The titles of 'al-Malik al-Adil' adopted by them on their coins, also belonged to the two Mamluk rulers—al-Malik al-Adil Badr al-Din Satamish (1279-80) and al-Malik al-Adil Zain al-Din Katbugha (1294-96). 'al-Malik al-Salih' of Samudera must have adopted that title when he came to throne, and that should have been some time during 1240-49 when the Ayubid Malik al-Salih was still ruling. Assuming that he came to power during the very last years (1246-49) of the Ayubid Sultan, his total regnal period (till his death in 1297) would be about 50 years, that is long enough to justify his name and fame and the resounding echo of his achievements for posterity.

It was this long and successful rule of Malik Salih which enabled him to strengthen the foundations of the Samudera Sultanate and its political power which was extended to most of the parts of Sumatra and other adjoining territories. Later in 1345 A.D., Ibn Battutah had described Malik Zahir (of Malik Salih's line) as the *King of Java;* and 'Java' (*al-Zabaj* of earlier authors) then represented a much wider territorial concept than the present Java. Also Ibn Battutah for the first time referred to Malik Zahir's great capital as 'Samutrah' or 'Sumatrah' (السمطره), being an Arabi-

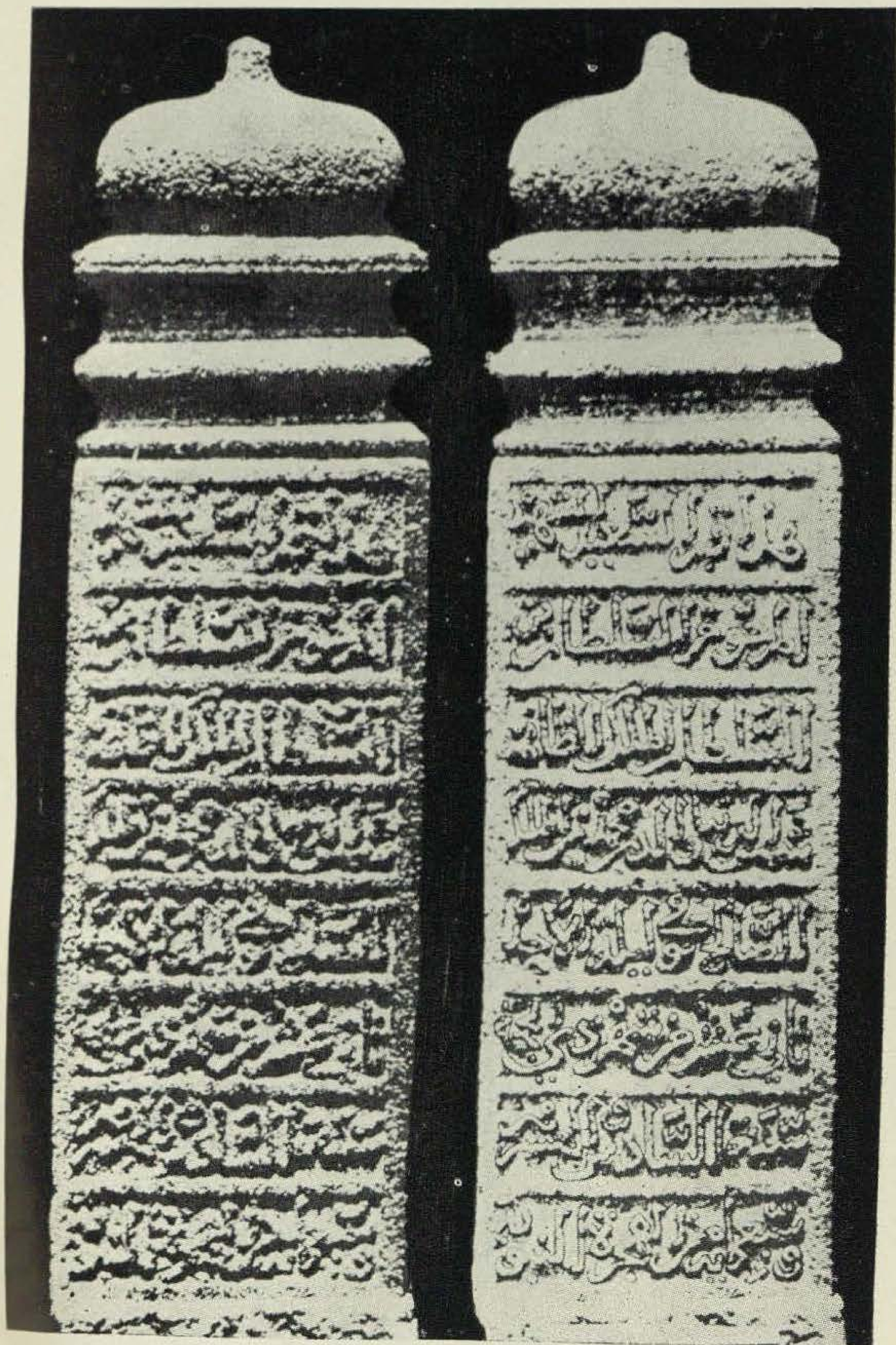
cised form of Samudera, the name by which this powerful Sultanate had then come to be called. With the territorial expansion as well as economic prosperity of the Sumatra Sultanate, the name eventually extended to the whole island of Sumatra.

The Samudera Inscription (Sultan Malik Zahir, or His Son?)

C. C. Browne in his translation of *Sejarah Melayu* (JRASMB, 1952) wrote the title as 'Malik al-Tahir' but the inscription (below) on the grave adjacent to the grave of Malik Salih has 'al-Malik al-Zahir'. This grave which has been taken to be that of Malik Zahir **(20: iii)** is probably of his son. The inscription on the grave reads:

هذا قبر السعيد الشهيد
المرحوم السلطان بن
السلطان الملک الظاهر بن
شمس الدنيا والدين محمد بن الملک
الصالح توفي ليلة الاحد
ثاني عشر من شهر ذى الحجة
سنة السادس والعشرين
وسبعمائة من الهجرة النبوية

This is the grave of the blessed, the truthful, the forgiven Sultan, the *son* of Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Shams al-Dunya wa al-din Muhammad, the son of al-Malik al-Salih, who died on the night of Sunday, the twelfth day of the month of



THE SAMUDERA INSCRIPTION
('Son of Sultan Malik Zahir')

Dhul Hijjah of the year seven hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra.

The 'night of Sunday' means the night between Saturday and Sunday, and the Hijra year 726 is equivalent to 1326. According to the inscription this is not the grave of Malik Zahir himself, but *of the son of* Malik Zahir, unless the words *al-Sultan b. al-Sultan* (*the Sultan son of the Sultan*) are taken to be a composite phrase referring to Malik Zahir in the sense that he was himself a Sultan and also he was the son of a Sultan (Malik Salih). Even in that case, since this Malik Zahir died in 1326 A.D., he cannot be the same Malik Zahir whom Ibn Battutah met nineteen years later in 1345 A.D. (**14**). On the other hand, if the grave is to be regarded as that of the son of Malik Zahir, it may probably be of 'Sultan Ahmad', who was the son of Malik Zahir Muhammad and the grandson of Malik Salih, as confirmed by the inscription on the grave of Queen Mihrāsyah (see below). Possibly, the name 'Ahmad' was left out by the scribe through mistake, though the title 'Sultan' (after which the name 'Ahmad' should have been written) is duly inscribed. To settle this point, a thorough study of the tombstone inscriptions in Makam Pasai is to be made. If the grave of Sultan Malik Zahir Muhammad be there but not of Sultan Ahmad, the grave adjacent to the grave of Malik Salih may be identified as that of Sultan Ahmad.

The Pasai Inscription on the Queen's Grave

The queen's name has been read as B.h.rasyah, N.h.rasyah etc. (**20 : ii, 29**). The inscription clearly

shows that the first letter of the name is neither 'b' (ب) nor 'n' (ن); it is either *m* (م) or *f* (ف). If it is 'm', and the two dots above belong to the second (upper) half of the name, the more probable reading will be Mihrāsyah. If the letter is taken to be an 'f' the name would be Fihrāsyah, suggesting that the original local pronunciation might have been 'Pihrāsyah'. Further, what is more important, the inscription also gives the title of the queen, which remains to be read meaningfully and its significance explained properly. The title, by which the queen was known to the people, is most probably in the local Samuder-Pasai dialect of those times. The inscription also records the queen's genealogy which shows that she was a direct descendant of Malik Salih. The relevant part of the inscription reads as follows:

هذا المرقد المنور المطهر لملكة المعظمة المرحومه المغفوره

مهراسيه الملقبه برا بغساخادو

بنت السلطان الشهيد السعيد زين العابدين بن السلطان احمد

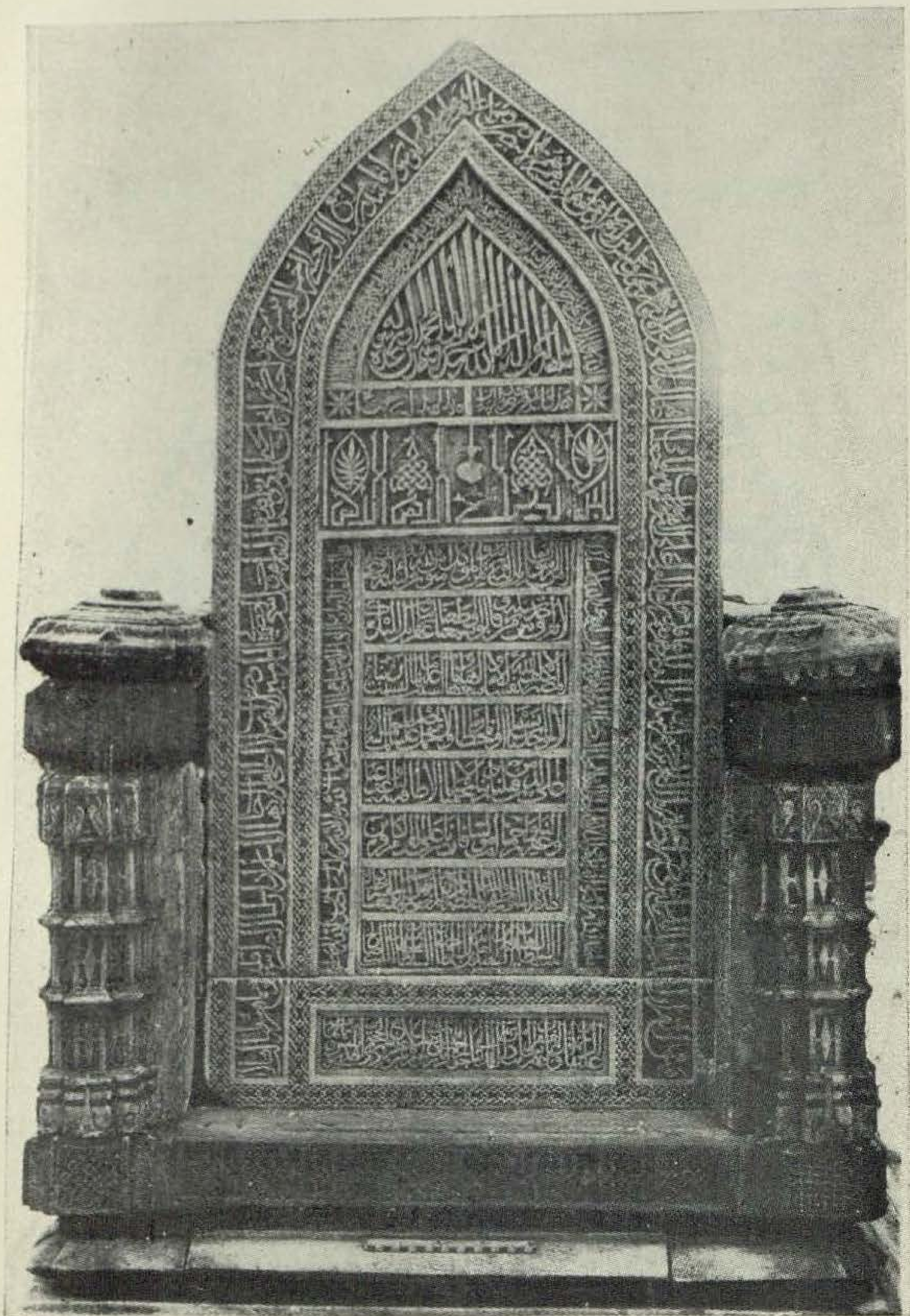
بن السلطان محمد بن الملك صالح

عليها الرحمة و عليهم الغفران انتقلت من دارالدنيا الى جوار

رحمة الله فى تاريخ يوم الاثنين سابع عشر من شهر

ذى الحجة سنة احدى وثلثين و ثمانمائة

This is the resting place, bright and clean, of the great queen, blessed and forgiven, Mihrasyah, entitled *B.ra. b.gh.sa Kha*(*Cha*)*d.u.*/*o*/*au*, the daughter of the truthful, the blessed, Sultan Zain al-Abidin son of Sultan Ahmad son of Sultan Muhammad son of the King Salih.



THE PASAI INSCRIPTION
(Queen Mihrasyah)



MAKAM BATUBADAN
PANANGGAHAN III

INSCRIPTION FROM A LADY'S GRAVE
(19 Safar, 602 H)

In the last line* (the third one above), the date of her death is recorded as "17 Dhi Hijjah 831" *i.e.* 27th September 1428 A. D. . She was the fourth in line of succession after Malik Salih. Her great grandfather Malik Zahir (Muhammad) or grandfather Sultan Ahmad died in 726 H. (1326). There are, then, two possibilities so far as the regnal periods of the queen and her father Sultan Zain al-Abidin are concerned: either they ruled for extra-ordinarily long periods of time; or some of their collaterals or others usurped the throne, but the queen and her father had lived long enough and succeeded in getting back their throne when they were of advanced age. However, these are mere conjectures. The problem can be resolved if the graves of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Muhammad are identified and the inscriptions (if any) read conclusively. During a flying visit of a few minutes to Makam Pasai (14 June 1979), I read the title *al-Malik al-'Adil* on one grave (probable second from the west) in the southern row indicating that the rulers other than queen Mihrāsyah are also buried there.

Were the inscribed marble gravestones taken from the Indian Jaina Temples?

One more issue needs to be settled so far as the marble stones bearing inscription on the grave of Queen Mihrasyah in Makam Pasai, and on the grave of Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, are concerned. Moquette had observed that in design and style these two stones were identical, and also these were exactly

*See the photo.

similar to those found in Cambay in Gujrat (India). Secondly, after examining the tombstone on the Queen's grave, he concluded that these marble stones were taken from the Jaina temples of Gujrat. According to him, if the sarcophagus were dismantled the backside of the inscribed stone would show carvings of human figures which resemble such carvings on the Jaina temples. He, therefore, concluded that at that time Muslims in Cambay, or Gujrat, were utilizing marble facings from Jaina temples for the purpose of gravestones both in their own areas and for other Muslims abroad **(20: ii)** particularly in Java (Gresik) and Sumatra (Pasai).

Moquette is correct in so far as the similarity of these gravestones is concerned. Not only the one on the Queen's grave (d. 1428) but also on some other graves in Makam Pasai, and the one on the grave of Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419) in Gresik are almost similar in size and style. There is also a very close resemblance between these and the gravestones in Cambay. According to the local tradition current in Gresik to this day (I heard of it on 1-6-1979), the gravestone on Maulana Ibrahim's tomb was "inscribed by a man from Gujrat". Of the graves in Cambay, the best preserved one (while there are others also), and of the same pattern, is that of 'Zaur al-Mulk 'Umar bin Ahmad al-Kāzaruni who died on Wed. 9 Safar 734 A.H./21 October 1333 **(4)**. This would show that the Muslim artisans of Cambay had developed their expertise in stone cutting, decorating and inscribing at least by 1333 A. D.; and it had continued in the same style at least for the next one hundred years, since

the stone for the Queen Mihrasyah's grave must have been inscribed after her death in 1428 A.D. If Moquette is to be believed, then the position would be that the Jaina temples were being dismantled by the Muslim artisans continuously for one full century for the purpose of gravestones without any protest from any quarter whatsoever. On the other hand, it would be considered not only improper but profane from the Muslim point of view to use stones with human figures, and these too taken from temples, for the graves of some eminent Muslim saints and rulers for whom excellent new stones could easily be acquired. Moquette's generalization on the basis of any one single stone would be untenable even otherwise, but the insinuation is serious enough to be followed up with a proper scrutiny. The problem can be settled once for all, if the Department of Archaeology re-examines the backsides of the inscription stones on the graves of both Malik Ibrahim and Queen Mihrasyah. This is all the more necessary because of Moquette's one other fallacious generalization that all the inscribed tombstones including that of Malik Salih were imported from Gujrat, though Malik Salih's tombstone has essentially an indigenous design motif and the none like it is to be found either in Cambay or the whole of Gujrat.

The Pasai Inscription on Malik Abd al-Rahman's Grave.

This grave, situated in the Teungku di Iboih di Blang Me Pasai graveyard, has the following

inscription (28):

الملك مولانا عبدالرحمان تاج الدوله
قطب المعالى الفاسى المتوفى يوم الاربع شهر
ذى القعده سنة ستمأة و عشر . ٦١٠

> The King (Malik) Maulana Abd al-Rahman, Crown of the State (Taj al-Dawlah), the Saint of the Highest Order (al-Qutb al-Ma'ali) of Pasai, who died on Wednesday in the month of Dhi Qa'dah in the year six hundred and ten.

I have had no chance to visit this graveyard and read the inscription for myself, but trusting that the above part of the inscription has been correctly read, it is obvious that this is the grave of an earlier ruler of Pasai, long before Malik Salih founded Samudera. The use of temporal titles (*al-Malik* and *Tāj al-Dawlah*) along with religious-cum-spiritual ones (*Maulana* and *Qutb al-Ma'ali*), is a common and distinctive feature of inscriptions on the rulers' graves of the early period. Malik Maulana Abd al-Rahman would appear to be the first of his line to have become the ruler of Pasai, since his father is not mentioned in the inscription. He died in the month of Dhu'l Qa'dah 610 H. (1214 A.D.). It would be reasonable to presume that he had ruled for 15 to 20 years, *i.e.* long enough to inspire the people to preserve the memories of his temporal and spiritual greatness through this inscription; thus the beginning of his rule can be placed approximately during the years 585-590 H. (1194-1199), *i.e.* by the turn of the 12th century A.D.. Accordingly, this Rahmanid Dynasty preceded the Salihid Dynasty

which was founded some 50 years later with its capital at Samudera. Inscriptions on the graves of some other important personages of the period in the Pasai area confirm that this part of Sumatra was entirely Muslim by the turn of the 12th century. There is the grave of Yaqub, a *Qāid* or Commander who died in Muharram 630 H. (1232 A.D.). Another grave in the Blang Me Pasai complex is that of Nāinā Husamuddin who died in the month of Shawal in the Hijra year six hundred and twenty-two (1225 A.D.). It is obvious that Husamuddin originally belonged to the Naina sub-stock of the Tamil speaking Chulia Muslims from Ma'bar (Coromandal, India) who began visiting the Malaysian-Indonesian regions from the early thirteenth century.

The Grave of King 'Tadjibarani' of Gowa (South Solawesi).

Islam is believed to have been introduced successfully in South Solawesi by Maulana al-Shaikh Abd al-Ma'mur Khatib, popularly known as *Datuk Ri Bandang* (Sire of Bandang), who originally belonged to the Kampong (village) of Kota Tangan situated at some distance from the city of Pandang in Sumatra. King Karaeng Motoaya of Tallo who was then Chancellor of Gowa, being the Regent for his young nephew the would-be king of Gowa (Makassar), accepted Islam *first* and, therefore, he became known as Abdullah *Awwal al-Islam*. This was in 1603. Later in 1605, when his nephew became King of Gowa, he also embraced Islam. He was the famous Sultan Alauddin under whose inspiration the whole of his

Kingdom (Gowa) accepted Islam. It is generally believed that the Buginese States in the north accepted Islam after Gowa became Muslim. J. Noorduyn, the linguist of the Bible Society of Bogor, following the colonial historians, finds it convenient to assert that Islam spread in the Buginese States as a result of the "Islamic Wars" or the "Holy Wars" which Sultan Alauddin waged for this purpose as a matter of "holy duty". Obviously, Noorduyn himself is doing his own 'holy duty' to project such a distorted perspective of the historical events of that period. Gowa and Bone were at war with one another long before Sultan Alauddin ascended the throne. Their mutual attacks and invasions had gone on long before the advent of Islam. A powerful king like Sultan Alauddin would have waged retaliatory wars even if he had not accepted Islam. On the other hand, the appeal of Islam was so widespread during this period that the Buginese rulers and people would have accepted Islam even if Sultan Alauddin had not attacked. In fact, Islam had preceded the retaliatory wars of Sultan Alauddin. The chiefs of the Wajo Kingdom had accepted Islam voluntarily without any fear of being attacked. The King of Bone, the most powerful of the Buginese states, had himself embraced Islam. Even before him, his predecessor, the Queen had gone over to Sidering which had accepted Islam. According to the Aceh tradition, Sultan Muhammad was the common ancestor of the Sultans of Aceh (Ali Mughayah Shah and others) and the Sultans of Makassar whose ancestor came to Makassar long before Sultan Ali Mughayah Shah ruled Aceh (1514-1530).

We have gone into this digression to underline the fact that Islam was known and favoured by the more intelligent and influential sections of the people in the Celebes long before the reign of Sultan Alauddin. Not only his uncle, but probably his forefathers had favoured Islam and some of them had personally accepted Islam. Tadjbarani, King XI of Gowa, was one of them.

There are two graves under a low ceiling dome on the left hand side of the main door as one enters *Makam Salatin* situated on the outskirts of the city of Ujang Pandang, the capital of South Solawesi. At the other end in the forefront, situated in a long row, are the imposing graves of Sultan Alauddin, Sultan Hasanuddin and other Sultans of Gowa.

The signboard by the Department of Archaeology on the door of the dome mentioned above says that the two graves inside are of the two kings of Gowa (who long before preceded Sultan Alauddin) namely*:

I. KARAENG LAKIUNG (the elder brother), King of Gowa X.
II. SOMBAGTA I TADJIBARANI, DAENG MAROMPA, King of Gowa XI (the younger brother who ascended the throne in 1565 but soon after died in the expedition he led against Bone).

The two graves inside are exactly in accordance with the Muslim burial practice, *i.e.* they are situated

*The discussion that follows is based on the names as given in the offical signboard. These names do not figure in Noorduyn's article on Celebes in the '*Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*'.

side by side in the North-South direction. In all the regions east of Arabia, a deceased Muslim is buried with head to the north (and slightly turned right towards the Ka'aba) and the feet to the south. There would appear to be no doubt that if these graves were opened up, this position would be confirmed. Obviously, these two rulers were buried in accordance with the Muslim practice. The tribute paid to King-XI whose personal name was Daeng Marompa says in the Makassari language "*Sombagta I Tadjibarani*", that is "Here lies our sire Tajbarani". This expression is a faithful translation of the familiar Arabic expression هذا هو سيدنا تاج بارانى. This respectful tribute is obviously in Islamic style. Also the revered name by which the late king is mentioned, *i.e.* Tadjibarani, carries the prefix *Taj* (=crown) which is purely Arabic and has been generally used in royal names and titles in the Muslim world. In Indonesian/Malaysian setting also such a use is exemplified in the names and titles of "Malik Maulana Abd al-Rahman Taj al-Dawlah" (the king of Pasai), "Sultan Maulana Ahmad Taj al-Din" the ruler of Kedah, and "Daeng Marompa Tajbarani" the king of Gowa. Obviously, Islam and Islamic way of life had preceded the official declaration of Islam as State religion in South Solawesi. There were close cultural and commercial relations between Solawesi and Malay Peninsula from early times. The Hijra year and Arabic writing was in use even long before King Tadjibarani. A mosque was built in Makassar soon after 1512. The island of Ternate had a Muslim prince who ruled from 1466 to 1486 A.D. (17). All

these important bits of information add up to prove the all-pervading influence of Islam in Solawesi long before the reign of Sultan Alauddin whose wars for political supremacy are misrepresented as "Islamic Wars" or "Holy Wars" to spread Islam.

III

PROBLEM OF PERIODIZATION

The writings of colonial period conveniently eliminate the identity of the 'Muslim period' in the periodization of Indonesian History. There were, as if only two main periods, the pre-Dutch Period and the Dutch Period. Even when the former was divided between (*i*) the Empire of Sriwijaya, (*ii*) the Kingdom of Singasari and (*iii*) the Great Hindu Majapahit Empire, the contemporary Muslim Kingdoms and Sultanates did not receive adequate emphasis as an important feature of the history of this period.

A more differentiated scheme of periodization has been structured as follows **(3 : ii)**: the common cultural Malaysian-Indonesian past (2000-1000 B.C.); the period of migrations from India and Hindu settlements (100 B.C.—500 A.D.); the Buddhist Empire of Sriwijaya (600-1300 A.D.); the Malaysian-Indonesian era of Islamic influence (1300-1650); and the Colonial Period (1650-1945/50).

The search for an Indonesia-centred vision of the historical past has projected different competing view-points, such as follows, which exclude the identity of

the Muslim realms :

(*a*) The Hindu-Javanese viewpoint based on the concept of the great Hindu Majapahit Empire.

(*b*) The Dutch East India Company's Indies Empire.

(*c*) The Netherlands Indies Government period from 1910 to 1945, when all the present Indonesian territories were under an effective control of the colonial administration.

On the analogy of 'Hindu-Javanese' viewpoint, 'Muslim-Javanese' or 'Muslim-Indonesian' viewpoint (which would conform more to the realities of the historical past) has not been suggested. An eminent scholar has, however, conceded that in so far as "local historical traditions have proved useful for the verification of foreign accounts... an adequate knowledge of Islam in Indonesia is often necessary" **(3 : iv).** As it is stated, this viewpoint at best recognizes 'Islam in Indonesia' as one of the many local *traditions* the knowledge of which is not *always* but *often* necessary, and that too not in its own right as an important fact of national history but only as a means to verify foreign accounts of Indonesia. It may be observed that even if 'historical statesmanship' rather than 'historical scholarship' is to formulate the emerging concept of periodization, it would be unrealistic to gloss over the historical realities. 'Geographical', 'political', 'temporal', or any other connotations could be employed, but these must represent the historical realities of each period. What is conveniently called the 'colo-

nial period' was, in fact, the period of 'the Indonesian Sultanates under foreign occupation'. The two Sultanate Periods, the one of independence prior to foreign occupation and the other under colonial domination, are both important and distinctive periods of *national Indonesian* History. Prior to the Sultanate Periods, there were the geographically and culturally isolated 'Kingdoms' (Buddhist Sriwijaya, Hindu Majapahit and the Muslim Kingdoms of North Sumatra and East Java); the Sultanate Periods represented a more integrated cultural and economic setting and a common anti-colonial climate, which eventually contributed to the growth of 'Indonesian' consciousness and ideals. Periodization on the following lines would conform more to the realities of the historical past and also avoid unrealistic connotations of nomenclature:

I.	Pre-Historic Period	Pre-historic Era.
II.	Ancient Period	Early Times—600 A.D.
III.	The Era of Isolated Kingdoms	800—1300
IV.	The Early Sultanate Period	1400—1650
V.	The Later Sultanate Period	1650—1945
VI.	The Republican Period	1945—to date.

An all-inclusive title for the whole history covering all the above periods could appropriately be "History of Indonesia and the Indonesian People". The Republic of Indonesia came into existence in 1945. Since then

it is the history of Indonesia as a newly-established State heralding a new era of independence for the people, who, however, were there prior to 1945 and from pre-historic times. The period prior to 1945 is of the history of the people of Indonesia, as is the period since 1945.

IV

CONCLUSIONS

The early advent and spread of Islam in Indonesia represents both the internationalism of Islam and the internationalism of the Malaysian-Indonesian society. It is a unique historical fact of spiritual advancement and religious transformation of a homogenous society, which was as much due to external inspiration as it was due to internal motivation and assimilation. Consolidation of Islam during the later stage was co-extensive with the growing process of political and cultural integration among the people of Indonesia under the impact of colonial domination. Chronologically, the process may be differentiated as follows:

(*i*) *1st-2nd Centuries* A.H. (7-8 A.D.). Early contacts of the people with the visiting Muslim navigators/traders during their intransit halts in port towns.

(*ii*) 3-4 A.H. (9-11 A.D.). The visiting Muslims take to Indonesian territory as their own home; process of fraternization with the indigenous population; establishment of Islamic communities in port towns and adjoining areas.

(*iii*) 5-9 A.H. (12-16 A.D.). Growth of the Indonesian Muslim communities in the coastal regions and the adjoining areas; development of community organization, and establishment of Islamic States.

(*iv*) 9-13 A.H. (16-20 A.D.). Widespread consolidation of Islam as a part of the growing process of cultural and political integration and peoples' struggle against colonial domination.

More valid conclusions regarding the historic process through which the Indonesian Islamic community has developed and established its 'identity in internationalism', can be drawn after most of the source materials, both external and internal, are brought to light, and are studied and interpreted meaningfully by the competent patriotic historians of Indonesia.

APPENDIX—I

AN ACCOUNT OF ACHEH IN FUZUNI'S BOOK '*BUHAIRAH*'*

The Iranian merchant Hashim Beg 'Fuzuni' of Astrabad visited Moghul India during 1014-1017 A.H. (1605-1608 A.D.), in the reign of Emperor Jehangir. He was a man of learning and a recognized poet who composed under the pen-name of 'Fuzuni'. In his book entitled *Buhairah*, which he completed in 1037 H. (1627) or earlier, he included under 'Chapter 43' an account of the 'Island of Achin' which he had taken from the work of Khawaja Baqir Ansari who had been the Governor of Bunggala (Bengal) for 22 years during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.), and who had collected information "on all the islands of Chin, Machin, Achin, Pegu and Khatta". After warning that the authenticity of this account (which as we see is either incorrect or exaggerated on some points) depended upon Khawaja Baqir Ansari or his reporter(s), Fuzuni included it in his book. This account of the 'Island of Achin', the original Persian

*I am indebted to Prof. S. Q. Fatimi for supplying me the text of Fuzuni's *Buhairah* which he had copied out from the published edition, and for his valuable suggestions.

text of which follows, contains useful information such as under:

1. The 'Island of Achin' is the central one in which there is plenty of good fruit. Camphor is obtained in the region which is inhabited by cannibals. Annually, their emissaries bring camphor as gift to the ruler of Achin, which is then exported to 'all parts of the world'.
2. The people of Achin are Muslims. The ruler of Achin always keeps four (most prominent) of them in service for maintaining law and order. The people of Achin are very brave and fearless.
3. They are engaged in waging war against the *Firang* (the Frank, *i.e.* the Portuguese/Dutch).
4. There is a mount in the sea at a distance of one day from Achin; whenever a foreign ship appears, a canon-like bang is heard from that mount, and immediately the Achinese prepare for war. Their country produces a kind of oil which they spread on the sea water and set it on fire which destroys ships everywhere. Because of this, the Frank are unable to conquer that Island.
5. They do not sell that oil to anyone, and (if some one does so, or has it) they confiscate it by the order of the ruler.
6. During the days of Khan Jehan (who was Emperor Akbar's Governor of Bunggala from 983 to 986 H./1575-1578), the ruler of Achin was from a Sayyid family which (originally) belonged to Najaf. According to the local tradition, his ancestor who had come from Najaf was a very learned and pious man. Most of the people gave

him their allegiance, so much so that even the ruler considered himself to be one of his followers. Eventually, the rulership passed on to the Sayyid and the old dynasty was eclipsed.

7. Thereafter, six of the Sayyid's descendants ruled Achin successively, and when no one from their house survived, the rulership passed on into the hands of the Sayyids of Java who had gained favour and influence during this period.
8. There were five rulers from the Sayyid Dynasty of Java, and the rule of this house continued till the present times, *i.e.* 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.), when the ruler of Achin bestowed his favours on one of the least noble persons of the time and raised him to the position of his Regent. When this man failed in his duties, the ruler called him and threatened to punish him the very next day. However, before he could do so, this man planned a coup, killed the ruler and usurped the throne. Since then (1590 A.D.), that man has continued to rule Achin independently, and ruthlessly.

This brief but contemporary account preserved by Fuzuni in his *Buhairah*, testifies to the valour of the Achinese Muslims; their wars against Portuguese and Dutch invaders and a successful defence of their country; and the three dynastic changes which took place, the last one being in the 10th century of the Hijra (16th A.D.).

بحیره

تصنیف فزونی استرآبادی

مطبوعه تهران ۱۳۲۸ھ

باب چهل و سیم (ص ۵۵۸)

گفتار اندر غرایب جزایري که حکماء در بحور سبعه یافته اند بنا بر سه فصل چنانچه در فهرست نموده شده است.

معلوم باد که در حین تحریر بحیره نسخه بنظر محرر درآمد از تصانیف خواجه باقر انصاري که مدت بیست و دو سال در اوان دولت پادشاه مغفرت پناه اکبر پادشاه کردي. صاحب حکم صوبه بنگالا بوده و تحقیق چگونگي حالات جمیع جزائر چین و ماچین و آچین و پنگو و خطا کرده بود - غرض آنکه در صدق وکذب میان جزائر هند محرر را معذور دارند. العمدة علی الراوی.

ذکر جزیرهٔ آچین (ص ۵۶۱)

جزیره آچین جزیره ایست وسط و دران جزیره میوه هائي خوب میباشد و کافور بغیر از سرحد آچین نمیشود و جماعتي ساکنند در آن موضع که آدم مي خورند و هر سالی وکلای ایشان برسم تحفه کافور بحاکم آچین مي آورند و همان کافور است که باطراف عالم مي‌برند. حقیقت حاصل شدن کافور این صورت دارد که درمیان خلق مشهور است که از باران نیسان که درمیان درخت کیله جای میگیرد کافور حاصل مي شود - اما مؤلف این صحیفه معاینه مشاهده نموده که در ایام خان جهان از آچین چوبي که کافور از آن حاصل مي شود با کافور همراه فرستاده بودند و درخت بزرگ

مي شود بمشابه درخت انبه یا درخت چنار ـ و کافور سه درجه (ص ٥٦٢) دارد آنچه از پوست حاصل مي شود آن را کافور بامي نامند و آنچه در چوبست که نزدیک به پوستت بر درخت تایکوجب سرین گویند و آنچه از میان درخت است آن را کافور مکه مي گویند و در قیمت فرق بهمین دستور است ـ و درخت کافور را شحته میکنند ـ و از آهن بطریق ناخن آدمی چیزي میسازند و کافور را از میان چوب بر مي آرند هرچه حب آن بزرگتر است قیمت آن بیشتر است ـ و از شهر آچین تا ولایت آدم خوران پنج روزه راهست و روش آدم خوران آنولایت اینست که در یک گروه مواضع آبادان کرده اند و بیکدیگر اقوام و خویشند و درمیان هر یک از ایشان شخص چون بیمار شده و خبر هم نرسید پیغام مي فرستند که اگر درمیان ما هم‌کسي بیار شود سهم شما را خواهیم فرستاد و ایشان از این ترس بمجرد اینکه سر یکي دردکرد هانساعت میفرستند و در ساعت بیار را پارچه پارچه کرده با یکدیگر بخش مي کنند و هر کس درمیان ایشان بزرگتر است سر باو تعلق دارد و استخوانهاي کله آدمي را در ریسان کشیده در خانه مي آویزند و هرکس که سر آدمي در خانه او بیشتر است اعتبار او بیشتر است ـ و درمیان یکدیگر قار مي بازند و دست و پا و گوشت بوزن ازاعضاي خود مي بندند چون بافتند دست و پاي یکدیگر را مي برند و گوشت مقداري که کزو بسته اند از نشستگاه با دیگر اعضاء مي برند و میخورند ـ

و اهل آچین مسلمانند و حاکم همیشه ازین مردم چهار نفر در خدمت خود دارد بواسطه سیاست ـ چون مردم آچین بغایت دلیر و بیباکند چنانچه اگر شخصي را حاکم‌سیاست میفرماید دست‌هاي او را بر روی چوب نهاده بند از بند جدا بسازند ـ آنکس مطلقاً دست نمي‌کشد و بمردم بدستور حرف و حکایت میکند و پان میخورد ـ و اگر احیاناً باعضاي خود که جدا میسازند متوجه شود اهانت قبیلهٔ او میشود

و هرگاه سخن درمیان مي آید بطریقه نهایت سرزنش آن قبیله میکنند ـ

و رسم آن ولایت اینست که یکروزي دارند که گوشت آدمي را حاکم و اکابر آن ولایت میخورند ـ وحقیقت اینست که در آنروز شخصي را غافل ساخته بمجرد گرفتن دست بر دهن او مي نهند که نفس او بر نیاید و اگر فریاد کرد و حرف زد او را میگذارند و دیگري را بهمان نوع مي گیرند چرا که هرگاه نفس زد آن فائده که خیال کرده اند ظاهر نمیشود ـ چون شخصي را بقتل مي رسانند جمیع اعضاي او را درمیان آشهائي که در آنروز پخته اند داخل میسازند چنانچه مطلقاً معلوم نمیشود ـ دل او را در طعامي که حاکم تناول میکند داخل میسازند تا بکار مي برد ـ فائده که خیال کرده اند اینست که رحم و شفقت از دلهاي ایشان مفارقت مي نماید باین تقریب این عمل زشت را شعار خود ساخته اند ـ و غیرت درمیان ایشان کمتر است و چنان بربست کرده اند که کوتوال آن بلده در جمیع مهماتي که روي میدهد در خلا و ملاء فوراً حاضر میشود ـ و پسر و دختر ایشان هرگاه بیکدیگر عاشق شوند در شب اول چون بیکدیگر ملاقات میکنند کوتوال حاضر میگردد و تاریخ آن شب را مي نویسد و تا شش ماه در مقام گرفتن نمیشود و هرگاه از موعد گذشت قصد گرفتن میکند ـ و هرگاه دو کس را باهم گرفتند صباح بدرگاه حاکم مي رسانند ـ اگر از مردم اعیانست حکم کشتن هر دو مي کنند و حاکم بزبان خود نمیگوید ـ و نشان حکم کشتن همي تن است 'کریچ' حاکم را که بفارسي (ص ٥٦٣) خنجر مي گویند خواجه سرا گرفته برآمده بر فیل حاکم سوار میکرد و پسر و دختر را بمیدان میبرند که جاي قصاص است ـ قاعده کشتن ایشان آنست که هر دو را از برابر یکدیگر در میدان مي آویزند و هر دو ابیات عاشقانه بزبان آنولایت خوانده نزدیک یکدیگر مي آیند و در قفاي هر یک سنگ انداز چابک دست مي ایستد چنانکه

بر سینه دختر میزند که مطلقاً از او آواز بر نمي آید ـ و آنکه بر قفاي پسر ایستاده بهمین طریق بر کله پسر میزند چنانکه هیچ آواز از او بر نمي آید و جان میدهد ـ و اگر غریبي بآن ولایت افتد ازو بجریمه در مي گزرند و دختر را بقصاص میرسانند ـ و اگر از مردم فرو دست آن ولایت این امر واقع شود ازو نیز جریمه میگیرند ـ

و اگر در آن ولایت آب میخورند و جامه مي پوشند به نیت غزاي فرنگ گفته مرتکب میگردند ـ و فرنگ را باین وجه دست برایشان نیست که کوهي است درمیانه دریا که از آن کوه تا آچین یکروزه راهست ـ هرگاه جهاز از روي دریا پیدا میشود صداي مثل توپ از آن کوه ظاهر میگردد چنانچه آواز آن بگوش اهل چین میرسد همان ساعت باستعداد جنگ مشغول میشوند ـ و روغني در آن ولایت پیدا میشود که چون بر روي دریا مي ریزند و آتش میزنند هر جا که جهازي هست بر روي دریا مي سوزد ـ از این راهگذر فرنگ در گرفتن آن جزیره عاجز است و آن روغن را بکس نمي دهند بسرکار حاکم ضبط مي کنند(۱) ـ

و کوکرو درجنگل آنولایت میروید که کندیک قدره مشهور است ـ و در آنولایت کلاغ و مگس و شغال نمي باشد و لبان در آنولایت مي باشد ـ وکوهي است در کنار دریا که یکراه دارد و دروازهٔ بنا کرده اند و یک راهدار برآن دروازه نشانیده اند ـ هرکس را که گناه کرد از مرد و زن در آن دروازه در مي آورند ـ و هرگز دیگر ایشانرا از آن کوه بر آمدن میسر نیست ـ و بسیارند که زن و شوهر شده اند و فرزندان حاصل کرده اند آنجا ـ و میوهاي لذیذ در آن کوه پیدا میشود و گاهي از اقوام هر یک درکشتیها نشسته غله مي برند و ایشان نیز میوهاي لذیذ

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(۱) همین طور در اصل . غالباً درست این طور : و اگر کسي مي یابد بحکم سرکار حاکم ضبط مي کنند'.

بر سر چوب بسته بیکدیگر میدهند - چون از کشتي بکوه بر آمدن و از کوه بکشتي در آمدن میسر نیست بآن تقریب هر چه بهم میدهند بر سر چوب مي بندند و مي رسانند - و پا ز هر میموني در آن کوه بسیار است.

در ایام حکومت خانجهان ، حاکم آچین از سادات نجف بوده و حقیقت احوال او آنچه بکرات از مردم آن ولایت شنیده شد این است که سیدي از نجف بآن ولایت آمده بود در کمال دانش و فضل - مردم آن ولایت به‌سید مذکور گرویده جمعیت تمام او را دست داد چنانچه حاکم هم خود را از جمله متابعان او میدانست تا که حکومت به‌سید مذکور قرار گرفت و حاکم قدیم معدوم شد - روزي در مجلس جمعي از مردم اعیان آنولایت نشسته بودند سید استفسار نمود که باعث صدائي که از این کوه بر مي آید چیست - گفتند که این کوه تعلق بجماعت پریان دارد چون از روي دریا جهاز متوجه این بندر شود صدائي از آن کوه بر مي آید - سید پرسید که از چه معلوم نمودید؟ گفتند چشمه ایست در این کوه بنزدیکي - پریان آمده در آن چشمه غسل مي کنند بعد از فراغ باز بآن کوه میروند - چون سید معلوم نمود روز دیگر بر سر چشمه رفته پنهان شد - دید که جمعي از پریان آمده در آن چشمه غسل مي کنند به یک مرتبه برایشان دویده ظاهرا در پیراهن پري دو بال میباشد - هرگه پیراهن از ایشان جدا شد دیگر نمیتوانند پرند - جماعتي پري از روي اضطراب پیراهنهائي خود را گرفته طیران نمودند - یک پیراهن بدست سید افتاد چون نگاه کرد دید که یکي در آب مانده و التماس پیراهن میکند - پري را سید مذکورگرفته بخانه خود برد و پیراهن را در صندوقي فولاد مستحکم کرد و پري را در نکاح خود در آورده - ازو فرزندان حاصل شد - چنانکه نقل کردند که روزي سید بشکار رفته بود پیره زني را (ص ۵٦۳) در خدمت آن پري که منکوحه سید بود گذاشته خاطر را

از محافظت پري جمع کرده بود پري الحاح بسيار بآن پيره زال نمود و مبلغي به پيره زال دادکه يکمرتبه پيراهن مرا بمن ده که به بينم - پيره زال را بخاطر رسيد که الحال او فرزندان دارد و نميشود که دل از اينها برکند محبت مادري مانع است و البته ديگر خيال وطن و خويشان خود نخواهد کرد - در آن صندوق را کشوده پيراهن را بر آورده باو نمود باز التماس نمود که بپوشم و جلوه کنم بر خود پس پوشيده چند گام بر دور سراي برآمد پس بر بام خانه نشست پس روي بفرزندان کرده گفت : که اي جانان مادر چه کنم مرا فراق شما ضرور شده - مدتي بود که در قيد پدر شما بودم - اکنون حضرت رب العزت مرا خلاصي داده - دعاي من به پدر خود برسانيد - اين گفته طيران نموده و رفت - فرزندان فريادو فغان بر آوردند و پيره زن حيران مانده از ترس بيخود شد - در اين اثناء سيد در آمد با فرزندان ملحق شده ناله و زاري بسيارکرد اما چه فائده داشت - پس از اندک وقتي بجوار رحمت ايزدي پيوست -

شش کرسي از اولاد سيد مذکور حکومت ولايت آچين نمودند تا آنکه از نسل او در آن ملک باقي نماند و حکومت بمردم جاوه قرار گرفت - چون در ايام حکومت سادات اهل جاوه کمال تقرب داشتند و تا حال پنج کس از اهل حکومت نمودند بتاريخ نه صد و نود و نه.

حاکم آچين بمنصب شخصي را که از همه مردم پست تر بود تقرب خاص داده و او را بيجهت بمنصب وکالت سرافراز گردانيده و بخدمتي تعين نمود - و در آن خدمت آن شخص تساهل نمود حاکم آچين اعراضي شده از روي اعراض گفت که : فردا اگر ترا بقصاص نرسانم خدا مرا بقصاص برساند - آن شخص چون بد سرشت و بد اصل بود بمجرد شنيدن از مجلس برآمده در درگاه حاکم نشست و پسر و برادر و مردم خود را طلب کرده مسلح و مکمل ساخته به امراي که حاضر بودندگفت که : مرا بخدمتي تعين نموده اند ، به اين

تقريب مردم را طلب نموده ام ـ چون مردم او رسيدند پسر خود را فرمود که بمجمعي در آمده سر حاکم آچين را جدا ساخت و بهر کس که گمان دلاوري و شدت داشت غافل بر سر ايشان رفته ايشان را بحکومت قبول نمودند ـ و از آن تاريخ حاکم به استقلال آچين اوست ـ و يک حرام نمکي ديگر او ازين معلومست که مدار آمد و رفت بر تجار است و معاش نيک نمودن او را فرض عين است ـ باوجود اين هر کسي که بکسي نزاعي دارد مي گويد که صاحب مال اين شخص غائب است بمجرد شنيدن مال او را غارت مي کند.

APPENDIX—II

THE MAIN SOURCE BOOKS WHICH ARE INDICATED BY THEIR SERIAL NUMBERS IN THE TEXT.

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6. Baladhuri: *Futuh al-Buldan*, Arabic Text, Leiden/Egypt editions.
7. Beruni: (*i*) Alberuni's India (ed. Sachau), London, 1914. (*ii*) *al-Qanun al-Masudi fi al-Hai'at wa al-Nujum*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1954-56.

(*iii*) *Kitab al-Tafhim li Awa'il Sana'at al-Tanjim* (ed. Jalal Humai), Tehran, 1316/183. (*iv*) *Tahdid Nihayat al-Amakin, li Tafhim Masafat al-Masakin*, (ed. Tanji), Ankara, 1962. (*v*) *Kitab al-Saidanah*, Hamdard Foundation, Karachi.

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14. Ibn Battuta: *Travels in Asia and Africa* (ed. H. A. R. Gibb), 6th impression, London, 1969.

15. Ibn Khurdadhbih: *Kitab al-Mamalik wa al-Masalik* (ed. De Goeje), Leiden, 1889.
16. Kuwabara, Jitsuzo: *On Pu Shou-Keng*, Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, 1928-1935.
17. Marsden, William: *The History of Sumatra*, Oxford University Press (a reprint of the original of 1811), 1966.
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